

75-5264

VARTOOGIAN, Jack Lewis, 1941-  
THE IMAGE OF ARMENIA IN EUROPEAN TRAVEL  
ACCOUNTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Columbia University, Ph.D., 1974  
History, modern

**Xerox University Microfilms,** Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106



1974

JACK LEWIS VARTOOGIAN

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

THE IMAGE OF ARMENIA  
IN EUROPEAN TRAVEL ACCOUNTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Jack Lewis Vartoogian

Submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for  
The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Faculty of Political Science  
Columbia University  
1974

## ABSTRACT

### THE IMAGE OF ARMENIA IN EUROPEAN TRAVEL ACCOUNTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

JACK LEWIS VARTOOGIAN

The early modern history of Armenia has been virtually ignored by Western scholars, who are drawn either to the greater glories of its classical and medieval ages or its more tragic recent past. Yet, the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries were interesting and important times for the Armenians. The seventeenth century is especially significant, as the growing Western interest in the East, particularly in Persia and India, attracted increasing numbers of Europeans, many of whom travelled through, and left reports concerning, Armenia. This body of travel literature had never been systematically identified -- much less examined -- with respect to Armenian history. Once this task was accomplished, it was our aim to determine precisely how the Western traveller came to see and evaluate Armenia and the Armenians in this period.

At the same time, we wished to provide a critical examination and evaluation of this literature with a view to establishing its worth as a valid historical source. After their identification, organization and evaluation, the remainder of the work was devoted to an examination of the major images which came to be most prevalent.

The general preconceived notion of Armenia was that of a possible site for the Terrestrial Paradise and as a land with several other close

Biblical associations. Once physically there, the traveller saw a land that was plainly a pleasant and fertile one, despite its unfortunate situation on the borders of the warring empires of the Ottoman Turk and the Safavid Persian. Certain Armenian cities were also closely identified with trade, and the Armenian people themselves, for the most part, were seen primarily as Christians and/or merchants.

Our most important body of material was provided by the accounts of thirty-two travellers actually in Armenia between 1581 and 1725. Beyond that, many travellers who never entered Armenia proper still had much to say about the Armenians, usually with reference to their colony in the suburb of New Julfa, situated across the river from the Safavid capitol of Isfahan. This second group numbered an additional thirty-eight.

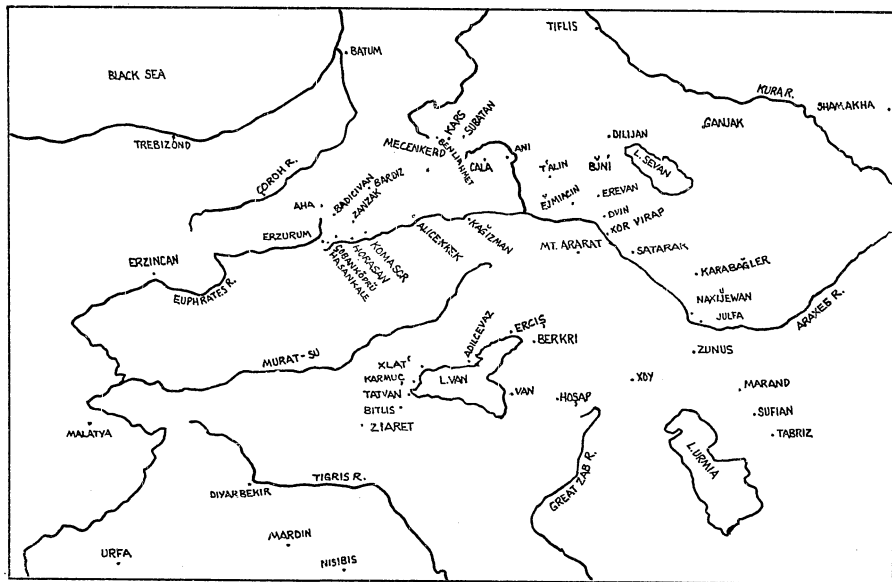
Several appendices provide a breakdown of these two groups alphabetically and chronologically as well as by nationality, profession or purpose in travelling and routes travelled. The extensive bibliography is also seen as a basic part of the study as it brings together for the first time all of the published accounts dealing with Armenia in this period.

This work, then, is intended both as a contribution to Middle Eastern and European history. In addition, it should provide the basis for further investigations aimed at determining the extent to which those images discerned in the travel books are carried over into the general popular literature of the seventeenth century. Finally, certain questions are raised concerning those areas where this literature is less useful; suggestions of other topics worth investigating, such as the process of Westernization among the Armenians at this relatively early date, have also been included.



## CONTENTS

	Map	p. ii
I.	Introduction	1
II.	The Travellers	23
III.	The Routes	92
IV.	Armenia in Legend	112
V.	The Land of Armenia	162
VI.	The Armenians	216
VII.	Conclusion	259
	Appendices	271
A.	Travellers Arranged Alphabetically	272
B.	Travellers Arranged Chronologically	275
C.	Travellers Arranged by Nationality	278
D.	Travellers Arranged by Profession or Prime Purpose in the East	281
E.	Travellers' Routes through Armenia	284
F.	Detailed Itineraries through Armenia	288
G.	Tournefort's Account of his Experiences on Ararat	291
	Bibliography	312



ARMENIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

## Chapter One -- Introduction

It hath beene, and yet is, a prouerbiall speech amongst vs,  
that Travellers may lie by authority.<sup>1</sup>

For some time now, a curious dichotomy has existed in the manner in which travel accounts have been treated by those who read them. On the one hand, the reading "public" has generally had a continuing interest in these narratives, while the amazing proliferation of reprints of the travellers -- usually with not-inexpensive price-tags -- suggests that in the academic world, too, there is a demand for this type of material; on the other, few self-respecting scholars admit to finding them of anything but the most limited value. Interesting they may be, but apparently the adage cited above still conveys some authority, since no less a figure than Bernard Lewis has written:

For the general reader they supply, so he believes, the superior knowledge and consequent superior wisdom of the man (or woman) who has Been There and Met Them and Knows. . . . For 'experts' of various kinds, who wish to specialize on the Middle East without actually having to learn a Middle Eastern language, they offer the comforting appearance of inside information -- a primary source for the historian, a field report for the social scientist, a first-hand informant for the political analyst.<sup>2</sup>

The traveller, Lewis continues, "brings comfort to a wide circle of readers, including, as in the past, those who fear the cost and hardship of

---

<sup>1</sup>William Parry, A new and large discourse of the Travels of sir Anthony Sherley Knight, by Sea and ouer Land, to the Persian EMPIRE (London: 1601), reprinted in J. Payne Collier, ed., Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature, II (London: 1863, repr. New York: 1966), p. 3. Long narrative titles being the fashion with most of our travellers, I shall supply only a short-title on a work's first mention in the notes and reserve complete citations for the Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup>Bernard Lewis, "Some English Travellers in the East," Middle Eastern Studies, IV, 3 (April, 1968), 296.

travel, reinforced by those who shun the rigours of scholarship."<sup>3</sup>

Interestingly, this viewpoint is not new -- the Jesuit traveller Alexandre de Rhodes wrote the following in 1653:

I commend the purpose of so many persons of rank who, after traveling in various quarters of the globe, put together fine books in which they relate all the things they have observed and thereby supply those having neither strength nor inclination to leave homes where they are quite comfortable with a means of crossing the seas without danger and finding themselves in all the most beautiful cities of the world without losing one whit of their ease.<sup>4</sup>

Having spent a lifetime attempting to convert and save souls, Rhodes warns the reader not to "expect from me all those fine tales told by those highly talented people who tell you about the customs of nations beyond our hemisphere, about land fertility, the whereabouts of towns, the laws of kingdoms";<sup>5</sup> and, unable to resist a final sideswipe at travel

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 296-297.

<sup>4</sup>Alexandre de Rhodes, S.J., Divers Voyages et Missions du Pere Alexandre de Rhodes en la Chine, & autres Royaumes de l'Orient (Paris: 1654), pp. 2-3/Solange Hertz, trans., Rhodes of Viet Nam: The Travels and Missions of Father Alexander de Rhodes in China and Other Kingdoms of the Orient (Westminster, Maryland: 1966), pp. xix-xx:

Je loue le dessein de tant de grands Personnages, qui apres auoir voyagé en diuers quartiers du monde, font de beaux Liures, où ils racontent toutes les choses qu'ils ont remarquées, & donnent moyen à ceux qui n'ont ny les forces, ny l'inclination de sortir de leurs maisons, où ils sont bien à leur aise, de traueser les mers sans danger, & de se trouuer dans toutes les plus belles villes du monde sans rien perdre de leur repos.

Since I will be citing original editions as well as English translations, I shall always refer first to the original language and second to the translation, whenever both are given. This footnote would thus appear further on as follows: Rhodes, pp. 2-3/pp. xix-xx; the matter will be discussed in greater detail below. The life and works of Rhodes and most of the other travellers mentioned herein will be examined in detail in Chapter Two.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 4/pp. xx, "n'attendez pas de moy toutes ces belles choses

books, he concludes: "I know that sort of thing satisfies the curious rather than the devout and produces more wonder than speculation."<sup>6</sup>

It seems, then, that these narratives are of use primarily to the weak -- whether physically or mentally. But is this a fair judgment? Are the writings of travellers of no value? Lewis himself does admit that they can be useful; it is possible, for instance, to lengthen one's bibliography with them. More importantly, he concedes that these tales "have a not unimportant place in history, at least in that part of it which is concerned with the formation and projection of images."<sup>7</sup> As sources for internal affairs, however, he feels travellers cannot usually be relied upon. They are ignorant, prejudiced, often naive, and usually deficient in the local languages, all of which combine to render these accounts nearly useless.

Before we attempt to determine whether Lewis is right, let us examine the kinds of uses to which the various memoirs, journals, relations, diaries and discourses which comprise the corpus of travel literature have been put in the past. What follows is not intended to be an exhaustive study of all works utilizing this type of material but rather a survey of the types of writing which rely either wholly or in large measure on travellers.

First, travellers themselves often rely on their predecessors in varying degrees, sometimes acknowledging their debts, more often not. The

---

que vous racontent ces grands Genies qui vous disent les coustumes de ces peuples qui sont au delà de nostre Hemisphere; la fertilité des terres; la situation des villes, les loix des Royaumes."

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, "Je sçay que tout cela contente plustost les curieux, que les deuots, & donne plus d'admiration que d'edification."

<sup>7</sup>Lewis, "English Travellers," 297.

most extreme example here is one which should perhaps properly not be included at all. Still, few people would argue that, whether he was in fact an historical person, Sir John Mandeville borrowed great sections of his work from other, earlier sources. Mainly, the author (whoever he was) lifted entire sections of the travels of Friar William of Rubruck, Friar Odoric of Pordenone, Haiton's (Het'um) Fleur des histoires d'orient, and the medieval encyclopedia of Vincent of Beauvais, to name only a few.<sup>8</sup> More immediately relevant to our purpose, the Italian lawyer and world-traveller Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri frequently repeated traditions he had heard in Armenia in virtually the same words used by his famous French predecessor, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, whose work had already gained an enormous popularity in the twenty odd years of its existence prior to the publication of Gemelli's Giro del Mondo in 1699 and 1700.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, the scholarly Tournefort constantly provides us with "Erudition" based on many classical sources, as well as the works of Rauwolf, Olearius, Chardin, Tavernier, Struys and others, all of whom he carefully cites by name, and occasionally by title, if not by publisher, date, and page.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup>M. C. Seymour, ed., Mandeville's Travels (Oxford: 1967), pp. xiv-xv. See also Malcolm Letts, ed., Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations, I (London: 1959), pp. xvii-xxvii et passim; as well as his Sir John Mandeville: The Man and his Book (London: 1949), pp. 31, 53-54 et passim, for discussions of some of these borrowings and for a viewpoint which suggests there might really have been an historical Mandeville.

<sup>9</sup>Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri, Giro del Mondo, 6 vols. (Naples: 1699-1700); this work also gained immediate popularity and was reprinted several times, notably, again in six volumes, at Naples in 1721, which is the edition used herein, in conjunction with the English translation, "A Voyage round the World," in [Awnsham and John] Churchill, comps., A Collection of Voyages and Travels, IV (London: 1732), pp. 1-572. Many examples of Gemelli's use of Tavernier will be noted in Chapters Four and Five.

<sup>10</sup>Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, Relation d'un Voyage du Levant,

Travel accounts also served as primary source material for scholars and scholarly inquiries dealing with the various regions in question. Thus the Jesuit Fleuriau wrote a survey of Armenia as it was in his day based primarily on first-hand accounts written to him as Procurator of the Levant Missions.<sup>11</sup> In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, travel books found a place in many important scholarly works, often supplemented by the authors' own travels in the respective countries.<sup>12</sup> In our own day some scholars still rely on this literature to supplement lacunae in "native" sources, and, contrary to Lewis' view, there is a growing recognition that the use of books of travel in scholarly inquiries is justifiable, and sometimes even advisable.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, while admitting that these works have their problems [and what primary sources do not?], such as historical inaccuracies due to the inaccessibility of local chronicles, the confusion caused by unfamiliar names and languages and their dependence for much current information on the gossip of the bazaar, one Indian scholar nevertheless feels that travel accounts are valuable sources. Their greatest value, he feels, "is where

---

II (Paris: 1717), pp. 255; 319; 311, 354; 354; 357; 359/A Voyage into the Levant, John Ozell, trans., II (London: 1718), pp. 191; 239; 233, 264; 265; 267-268, et passim.

<sup>11</sup>Thomas Charles Fleuriau [de Armenonville], S.J., Estat present de l'Armenie, tant pour le Temporel que pour le Spirituel (Paris: 1694), passim. On Fleuriau, see below, Chapter Two, n. 131.

<sup>12</sup>For example, George N. Curzon, Persia and the Persian Question, 2 vols. (London: 1892, repr. 1966); H. F. B. Lynch, Armenia: Travels and Studies, 2 vols. (London: 1901, repr. Beirut: 1965); and Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, Four Centuries of Modern Iraq (Oxford: 1925). Of course travel accounts were not, nor should they have been, used solely by these writers, who usually were familiar with the languages in question.

<sup>13</sup>Most notably Laurence Lockhart, The Fall of the Safavi Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia (Cambridge: 1958), who uses European eyewitness accounts of Nadir Shah's campaign and reign as an important adjunct to the Persian sources.

they record their personal experiences and write of the roads they traversed, the towns they visited, the men they met, the things they saw, the amenities they enjoyed, the discomforts they suffered and the difficulties they encountered."<sup>14</sup> We might add that the prices they paid are also of much interest, though, in fairness to Sen, it must be pointed out that he does mention this factor elsewhere.<sup>15</sup> Travel accounts, then, are extremely useful in reconstructing the circumstances of everyday life, and it seems to me that it is precisely the ignorance, prejudice and naiveté that Lewis denounces which often worked to isolate the common and mundane and which might otherwise be (and often was) overlooked by local sources. In other words, the very strangeness of the circumstances in which most travellers found themselves heightened and intensified their interest -- already developed to a considerable degree by the rising "Enlightened" attitudes -- in general and their powers of observation (and sometimes, sadly, their credulity as well) in specific. But certainly, to repeat the old cliché, there is safety in numbers; and if one can produce enough witnesses, even with varied testimonies, cannot one hope to find some agreement? Or, to put it in the words of another scholar writing about the many travellers to India: "In such a cloud of witnesses of varied ranks, professions, and nationalities, truth, divested of insular or continental prejudice, may surely be found."<sup>16</sup>

Of course, Lewis did not dismiss travel books as completely worthless: he even suggested that they might be useful if one were interested

---

<sup>14</sup>Surendranath Sen, ed., Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri (New Delhi: 1949), pp. liv-lv.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. liv.

<sup>16</sup>Edward Farley Oaten, European Travellers in India during the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London: 1909), pp. 3-4.



in "images" and their dissemination.<sup>17</sup> But even in this respect he was being unduly harsh, perhaps even smug, and without doubt short-sighted, when he tried to elaborate by merely noting that "Such influence may extend from the past to the future, as politicians making decisions are swayed by memories and reports of journeys abroad, their own and other men's."<sup>18</sup> Is this all there is to image-formation? Does he really mean that the only use of this material lies in its influence on political decision-making? It is difficult to believe that Lewis does not see beyond this rather narrow point-of-view, and, despite the fact that he does not clarify or explain himself further, I am inclined to believe that this lapse is mostly due to an understandable tendency to overstate and simplify in what is, after all, a minor article among the many more significant works of a major scholar. Still, the lapse is puzzling, though the article does provide a convenient rallying-cum-departure point for my own investigations.

If Lewis has overlooked some aspects of the influence and utility of travel books, others have not. In fact, there is a considerable -- and growing -- body of studies devoted to the influence of these works on the intellectual and literary history of Europe. First, in English alone, there are at least three recent works which are little more than anthologies of the accounts of travellers to Russia;<sup>19</sup> these works purport to offer a

<sup>17</sup>See above, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup>Lewis, "English Travellers," 297.

<sup>19</sup>Anthony Cross, ed., Russia under Western Eyes, 1517-1825 (New York: 1971), Peter Putnam, ed. Seven Britons in Imperial Russia, 1698-1812 (Princeton, New Jersey: 1952), and Francesca Wilson, ed., Muscovy: Russia Through Foreign Eyes, 1553-1900 (London: 1970).

look at Russia as seen by individuals who were there and wrote about it, and while they certainly accomplish that end, they also present the opportunity to examine the ways in which these travellers looked at a foreign land and brought back and diffused their views to the wider reading public.

Beyond these, there are a number of studies which are concerned with travel literature as a vehicle for the dissemination of ideas and images not only about the Middle East or some part of it, but in general as well.<sup>20</sup> They attempt to trace the development and popularity of these works and to correlate them with the changing notions of European society. As can be seen from this partial list, the Muslim Middle East not surprisingly holds scholarly attention to a great extent, though it would be incorrect to

---

<sup>20</sup>Among the most important of these books are: Geoffroy Atkinson, Les relations du voyages du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et l'évolution des idées (Paris: 1924, repr. New York: 1971); M. H. Braaksma, Travel and Literature: An Attempt at a Literary Appreciation of English Travel-Books about Persia (Groningen: 1938); Robert Ralston Cawley, Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyagers on Elizabethan Literature (Princeton: 1940); idem, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama (New York: 1938, repr. 1966); Jeanne Chaybany, Les voyages en Perse et la pensée française au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Teheran: 1971); Samuel C. Chew, The Crescent and the Rose (New York: 1937); R. W. Frantz, The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732 (Lincoln, Nebraska: 1934; repr. New York: 1968); N. Jorga, Les voyageurs français dans l'orient européen (Paris: 1928), originally published in Revue des cours et conférences XXVII-XXXIX (1926-1928), passim; Pierre Martino, L'Orient dans la littérature française au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris: 1906, repr. Geneva: 1970); and Clarence Dana Rouillard, The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature (1520-1660), Études de Littérature Étrangère et Comparée, XIII (Paris: [1938?]). There are also many learned articles, including: Wallace Cable Brown, "The Popularity of English Travel Books about the Near-East, 1775-1825," Philological Quarterly, XV, 1 (January, 1936), 70-80; Mohamed Ali Hachicho, "English Travel Books about the Arab Near East in the Eighteenth Century," Die Welt des Islams, n.s. IX (1964), 1-206; Louis H. Gray, "Un drame anglais de source arménienne," Revue des études arméniennes, o.s., V, 1 (1925), 141-145; A. Ferdinand Herold, "Le Nicomède de Corneille et l'Arménie," Revue des études arméniennes, o.s., III (1923), 57-61; and Esther Kafé, "Le mythe turc et son déclin dans les relations de voyage des européens de la Renaissance," Oriens, XXI-XXII (1968-1969), 159-195.

assume that other lands are unimportant. A few seem to be, however, among which is Armenia.

Of interest to few people other than Armenians themselves, Armenian history has generally been neglected by the scholarly community at large, despite the fact that Armenia has performed an important historical function for two millenia as a buffer between East and West. If nothing else, this buffer position has made of the land and its people a convenient barometer, or index, to determine the degree of variation between opposing Powers -- in our case the Ottoman and Safavid empires. In any event, since even within Armenian circles the establishment of a truly dispassionate scholarly spirit is itself a rather recent development (at least insofar as writings in Western -- and therefore accessible -- languages are concerned), one should not be surprised to find that most of the current research deals with more traditional political and economic matters. They present enough problems in themselves, in addition to being areas where much work remains to be done. To attempt then something as amorphous and singular as a study in image-making might seem, if nothing else, at least premature. And in some respects, of course, it is.

Certainly, there are virtually no Western studies dealing with Armenia in the early-modern period.<sup>21</sup> There are, to be sure, a considerable number of important primary sources and secondary studies available in Armenian,<sup>22</sup> but they are hidden from general access by a language which

---

<sup>21</sup>Aside from chapters in general histories, such as H. Pasdermadjian, Histoire de l'Arménie, 2nd edn. (Paris: 1964), only two titles come to mind, and even they are not about Armenia per se. See Aschot Johannissjan, Israel Ory und die armenische Befreiungsidee (Munich: 1913), and Avedis K. Sanjian, The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1965).

<sup>22</sup>The most important Armenian primary sources for this period include: Aġak'el Davriġec'i [Aġak'el of Tabriz], Girk' Patmut'eanc' [Book of Histories] (Vaġarġapat: 1896), Russian translation by L. A. Xanlaryan, Kniga

is difficult and to some extent obscure.<sup>23</sup> Much of it is also available in Russian, a language unfortunately also under-utilized by scholars.<sup>24</sup>

Istoriya (Moscow: 1973), French translation by M. Brosset, Livre d'historiens, in Collection d'historiens arméniens, I (St. Petersburg: 1874), pp. 267-608, which is the most important chronicle for the seventeenth century; Grigor Daranaič'i, Žamanakagrut' iwn [Chronography] (Jerusalem: 1915); Zak'aria Agulec'i, Oragrut' iwn [Diary] (Erevan: 1938); Zak'aria K'anak'erc'i, Patmagrut' iwn [History], 3 vols. (Važaršapat: 1870), Russian translation by M. O. Darbinyan-Melikyan, Khronika [Chronicle] (Moscow: 1969), French translation, "Mémoires historiques sur les Sofis," in Brosset, Collection, II (St. Petersburg: 1876), pp. 1-154; H. Abrahamyan, ed., Kalvacagrut' [Cadastres] (Erevan: 1941); H. Manandyan and H. Ačatyan, eds., Hayoc' Nor Vkanerē [New Armenian Martyrs] (Važaršapat: 1903); V. Hakobyan, ed., Manr Žamanakagrut' yunner XIII-XVIII dd. [Minor Chronicles of the 13th-17th Centuries], 2 vols. (Erevan: 1951-1956); Simeon Erevanc'i, Jambr (Važaršapat: 1873); Russian translation by S. S. Malxasyanc', Džambr (Moscow: 1958); and L. Melikset'-Bek, trans., Vrac'akan ašbyurnerē Hayastani ew Hayeri Masin [Georgian Sources concerning Armenia and the Armenians], III (Erevan: 1955). Some significant secondary studies are: Ė. Ališan, Ayrarat (Venice: 1890), idem, Sisakan (Venice: 1893); H. S. Anasyan, XVII Dari Azatagrakan Saržumern Arevmtyan Hayastanum [17th Century Liberation Movements in Western Armenia] (Erevan: 1961); A. Hovhannisyan, Drvagner Hay Azatagrakan Mtk'i Patmut'yan [Studies in the History of Armenian Liberational Thought], II (Erevan: 1959); Leo, Hayoc' Patmut'yun [History of Armenia], III (Erevan: 1969); M. Ormanean, Azgapatum, II (Constantinople: 1914); and M. G. Zulalyan, Jalalineri Saržumē [The Jalali Movement] (Erevan: 1966). See also S. S. Arewšatyan et al, eds., Hay Žovurdē Feodalizmi Vayrejk'i Žamanakašrjanum XIV-XVIII dd. [History of the Armenian People IV. The Armenian People in the Period of the Waning of Feudalism in the 14th-18th Centuries] (Erevan: 1972), especially the extensive Bibliography of Armenian, Russian and Western sources. Finally, there is Hakob Hakobyan, Užegrut' yunner [Travel Literature], 2 vols. (Erevan: 1932-1934), which is reported to be very useful, but which I have been unable to locate.

<sup>23</sup>Lord Byron, for instance, studied Armenian in Venice at the Mxit'arist Monastery on the island of San Lazzaro because "my mind wanted something craggy to break upon; and this -- as the most difficult thing I could discover here for an amusement -- I have chosen to torture me into attention. . . . I try, and shall go on; -- but I answer for nothing, least of all for my intentions or my success." Quoted by Leslie A. Marchand, Byron: A Biography, II (New York: 1957), pp. 673-674.

<sup>24</sup>See, for example, P. T. Arutiunyan, Osvoboditel'noe Dviženie Armjanskogo Naroda v Pervoi Četverti XVIII Veka [Liberation Movements of the Armenian People in the First Quarter of the 18th Century] (Moscow: 1954); P. G. Butkov, Materialy dlya Novoi Istarii Kavkaza, s'' 1722 po 1803'' god'' [Materials for a New History of the Caucasus, from 1722 to 1803], 3 vols. (St. Petersburg: 1869); G. A. Ezov, Snošeniya Petra Velikago s'' Armyanskim'' Narodom [The Relations of Peter the Great with the Armenian People]

As a result, there is an absence of the kinds of works which would make the task I intend to undertake simpler, though that lack is in itself another justification for this project.

What I propose is an intensive study of all the available published accounts of Armenia in the seventeenth century, or, more precisely, the period from 1581 to 1725. This period is chosen for a number of reasons. First, the seventeenth century was the great century of the Safavids of Persia, who were the masters of the better part of Armenia. Because of its splendor, we find many Westerners travelling to Persia, drawn by curiosity, trade, diplomacy or religion. They came in much greater numbers than had been the case before, and they wrote about their experiences in proportion to their presence. Since one of the major routes to Persia passed directly through the very center of Armenia (over the Erzurum-Erevan-Tabriz road), we have a corresponding increase in descriptions of Armenia as well. One essential requirement in this regard, as we have already implied, was a sample large enough to overcome the inherent difficulties noted above; such a sample is available from the seventeenth century.

Further, in 1581 the Englishman, John Newbery, undertook a great journey from Aleppo to Hormuz in search of expanded trade possibilities. He returned by way of Isfahan and Armenia, becoming one of the first Englishmen to pass through that part of the world, at least overland. This

---

(St. Petersburg: 1898); A. Ioannisyan [Ašot Hovhannisyan], ed., Armyano-Russkie Otnošeniya v Pervoĭ Treti XVIII Veka -- Sbornik Dokumentov [Armeno-Russian Relations in the First Third of the 18th Century -- A Collection of Documents], 2 pts. (Erevan: 1964-1967); V. A. Parsamyan, Armyano-Russkie Otnošeniya v XVII Veke -- Sbornik Dokumentov [Armeno-Russian Relations in the 17th Century -- A Collection of Documents] (Erevan: 1953); and N. A. Smirnov, Politika Rossii na Kavkaze v XVI-XVIII vv [Russian Policy in the Caucasus in the 16th-18th Centuries] (Moscow: 1958).

remarkable journey, and a subsequent one, led directly to the establishment of the East India Company and the resultant expansion of England's interest and involvement in Eastern matters.

1725, on the other hand, not only marked the death of Peter the Great and the end of his attempts at expansion into the Caucasus and Northern Persia but also coincided with the beginning of the decline of Persian strength and the commencement of the Afghan wars which introduced a long period of instability and a noticeable decrease in the numbers of Western travellers through that area. Thus, while they are as arbitrary as most termini, the choice of these dates is still based on definite historical considerations.

Finally, seventeenth century travellers as a group begin to display the first glimmerings of the developing rational attitudes which, while they do not begin to abolish the credulity for which travellers have always been famous, nevertheless offer some counter-weight to the more blatant extremes of earlier times. Fabulous tales continue to abound, but they become fewer in the course of the century and the accounts tend to become increasingly reliable.

Using the available published accounts, then, I intend to determine what, if any, images of Armenia and its people are found in these works. How do Europeans see the Armenians they encounter, and to what extent are their views colored by external, "objective" factors as opposed to internal, "subjective" ones? Are they favorably disposed to the Armenians and if so, why? What importance is there in Armenia's close association with Biblical traditions? Does the Armenian form of Christianity help or hinder its acceptance by travellers? And finally, as a separate project, to what extent do these images become clichés and diffuse into the general

popular literature of the times?

Hence my reliance on published materials, since I am primarily concerned with the origin, development and transmission of impressions and images from individuals to society. Certainly there is considerable material available in manuscript in various archives and libraries, and it would no doubt be extremely useful for Armenian studies to locate, catalog and publish much of it. But unpublished material is self-evidently unavailable for general public view and is as a result useless in dealing with the growth of images. Further, one must begin somewhere and the location and perusal of only the volumes of published travel literature is in itself a formidable task.

In many cases, of course, there is no difficulty in finding particular works. But quite a few travel books are of the utmost rarity, being found in only a very few libraries in the United States (and not many more in Europe) and then usually as non-circulating copies kept under lock and key.<sup>25</sup> One might suggest that, New York aside, in no other city in America except perhaps Boston and possibly Washington, D.C., could a project such as this even be reasonably contemplated, let alone undertaken, with any fair hopes of minimizing the difficulties and expenses of travel. As it happened the resources of New York City were so great that the majority of works were available here and the remainder were

---

<sup>25</sup>One need only look at some current prices for important travel books to understand the reason why their use might be regulated: Nicolas de Nicolay, The Investigations, Peregrinations and Voyages (London: 1585), first English edition, £700; Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, The Six Voyages (London: 1678), first English edition, £320; and Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, A Voyage into the Levant (London: 1718), first English edition, £200. At the current exchange rate of £1.00 = c.\$2.40, one can readily see how this material has passed beyond the reach of most individuals. These prices are quoted from Dawsons of Pall Mall, London, Catalogue 244, "Atlases, Travel & Topography," 1974, items no. 410, 419 and 421.

found, for the most part, in Paris and London in five weeks in the summer of 1973.

Compounding this difficulty is the absence of any complete bibliographies of travel literature. There are, of course, many excellent travel bibliographies in particular languages,<sup>26</sup> there are bibliographies relating to various countries or areas,<sup>27</sup> and there are even bibliographies detailing the holdings of individual libraries;<sup>28</sup> but no one has attempted

---

<sup>26</sup>The most complete of these is Edward Godfrey Cox, A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel, vol. I, The Old World, University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, No. 9 (Seattle: 1935, repr. New York: 1969), which deals only with works written in or translated into English. See also Geoffroy Atkinson, La littérature géographique française de la Renaissance, plus Supplément (Paris: 1927-1936); Robin Fedden, English Travellers in the Near East (London: 1958); Berna Moran, Türklerle İlgili İngilizce Yayınlar Bibliyografyası [Bibliography of English Publications pertaining to the Turks] (Istanbul: 1964); and Harry W. Nerhood, To Russia and Return: An Annotated Bibliography of Travelers' English-Language Accounts of Russia from the Ninth Century to the Present (Columbus, Ohio: 1968); as well as the bibliographies in Braaksma, Travel and Literature; Hachicho, "English Travel Books"; and Jorga, Les voyageurs français.

<sup>27</sup>These include Friedrich von Adelung, Kritisch-Literarische Übersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: 1846, repr. Amsterdam: 1960); M. Miansarof, Bibliographia Caucasica et Transcaucasica, I (St. Petersburg: 1874-1876); M. A. Polievktov, Evropeiskie Puteshestvenniki XIII-XVIII vv. po Kavkazu [European Travellers of the 13th - 15th Centuries in the Caucasus, hereafter EP] (Tiflis: 1935); A. Salmasian, Bibliographie de l'Arménie, new edn. (Erevan: 1969); Sir Arnold T. Wilson, A Bibliography of Persia (Oxford: 1930), as well as many of the works cited in the preceding note. In addition, G. Curzon, Persia and the Persian Question, I, pp. 16-18, provides an extensive, though unfortunately not exhaustive, list of travellers whose works have appeared in a European language, arranged by centuries from 900 to 1891. Even more unfortunately, except for a few notes scattered throughout the two volumes, he does not provide bibliographical particulars for most of these travellers. A more useful bibliographical essay by Charles Schefer serves as an introduction to his edition of Raphael du Mans, Estat de la Perse en 1660, Publications de l'école des langues orientales vivantes, II série, vol. XX (Paris: 1890), repr. Westmead, England: 1969), pp. i-cxv, hereafter Schefer, "Essay"; Schefer, "Appendix" will refer to the appendices at the back of this work.

<sup>28</sup>Shirley Howard Weber, ed., Voyages and Travels in Greece, the Near East, and Adjacent Regions Previous to the Year 1801 (Princeton, New Jersey: 1953), and idem, Voyages and Travels in the Near East Made During



to compile a complete bibliography of Western travellers to Armenia or Persia, much less the Middle East as a whole.

My original plan was to examine all of the travellers who passed through Eastern Turkey, Armenia and/or Persia and extract everything that they said about Armenia or Armenians. It soon became evident, however, that the successful accomplishment of this task would require a much longer time period than was available, and that the Law of Diminishing Returns would quickly begin to function as the distance from Armenia increased. As a result, my intentions were modified and certain ground-rules were established.

First, of course, only European travellers whose accounts had been published were to be included. This decision eliminated travellers of Middle Eastern origin, including the famous Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi, whose Seyahatname is nevertheless an important source for this period,<sup>29</sup> and it also excluded the Russians,<sup>30</sup> by assuming the validity of the old generalization that Russia becomes part of Europe only in the later eighteenth century, if then. Beyond those limitations, however, I have attempted to include all Europeans who met the remaining requirements;

the XIXth Century (Princeton, New Jersey: 1952), which are merely catalogs of the holdings of the Gennadion Library of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

<sup>29</sup>Evliya Çelebi, Seyahatname [Book of Travels], 10 vols. (Istanbul: 1314/1896-1938), translated into English and edited by Joseph von Hammer [-Purgstall] as Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the Seventeenth Century (London: 1834). The sections relevant to Armenia have been collected and translated into Armenian by A. X. Safrastyan, Evliya Ç'elebi, T'urk'akan Aşbyurner [Turkish Sources] III (Erevan: 1967).

<sup>30</sup>An excellent bio-bibliographical survey of Russian travellers to the Caucasus and Armenia can be found in EP, pp. 21-75, 197-202. See also K. V. Sivkov, Putešestviya Russkix' Liudei za Granitsu v' XVIII v. [Travels of Russian People Abroad in the 18th Century] (St. Petersburg: 1914?).

the second of which was the chronological one discussed above.

The third and last requirement was geographical. It became necessary to face the thorny -- and unresolved -- problem of exactly where Armenia was, since I decided that only the works of travellers who actually passed through there could be included in the first rank of primary source material. Because of the historical complexity of this problem,<sup>31</sup> it was evident that any geographical boundaries would be somewhat arbitrary; nevertheless, for the purposes of this study, Armenia will be bordered in the west by the Euphrates river and Erzurum and in the east by Tabriz and the line running more or less north-south through it. To the north, though the Caucasus formed the ultimate barrier, the Kura river (the ancient Cyrus) serves admirably, while the southern borders are marked by the mountains of Kurdistan and the line running south of Lake Van between Diyarbakir and Tabriz. Any Europeans travelling within this area between 1581 and 1725 who later published anything relating to their experiences came to constitute the main body of primary source material.

Fearing, however, that this sample might be insufficient, I looked to a second group of travellers, among whom were some of the great names

---

<sup>31</sup>Cf. Heinrich Hübschmann, Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen (Strassburg: 1904, repr. Amsterdam: 1969), pp. 200-233. The book is itself reprinted from Indogermanische Forschungen XVI (1904), 197-490. Despite the fragmented history of Armenian political divisions, the geographical concept of a Greater Armenia persisted down to this century. See the anonymous seventh century Aṣṣarhac'oyc' [World Atlas] (Venice: 1881), the thirteenth century Aṣṣarhac'oyc' of Vardan Vardapet, ed. by Haig Berberian (Paris: 1960), pp. 9-50, and E. Ališan, Teṭagir Hayoc' Mecac' [Topography of Greater Armenia] (Venice: 1853). On the problems of the earlier Aṣṣarhac'oyc' see Robert H. Hewsen, "Armenia according to the Aṣṣarhac'oyc'," Revue des études arméniennes n.s. II (1965), 319-342. For the problem in the fourth century see Nina G. Garsoian, "Armenia in the Fourth Century: An Attempt to Re-Define the Concepts 'Armenia' and 'Loyalty'," Revue des études arméniennes n.s. VIII (1971), 341-346.

of the genre, such as Cornelis Le Bruyn, Pietro Della Valle, Adam Olearius, and Jean de Thevenot. These men (and others as well) did not travel in Armenia, but they did go to Isfahan, the most important suburb of which was the Armenian settlement of New Julfa.

This is not the place to deal with New Julfa, which must still await proper treatment.<sup>32</sup> All that need be mentioned at this point is that the colony was established in 1604 by Shah 'Abbās who forcibly transferred thousands of Armenians from the vicinity of Julfa on the Araxes river in Armenia; this transfer of population was a part of his "scorched earth" policy aimed at leaving nothing which might help the Ottomans maintain themselves in the area. In the course of the seventeenth century the settlement prospered and became the center of the economic and commercial activities of the Armenian merchants. The Augustinians, Carmelites, Capucins and Jesuits all established missions there and many travellers took up lodging either in one of the missions, in the homes of Armenians, or in one of the factories of the various trading companies. Thus, the Armenians came into close contact with Westerners and their ways and ideas, and the Europeans observed a good deal regarding the Armenian way of life. Because of its prominence, many travellers to Isfahan, who were never in Armenia itself, still make room in their narratives for a discussion of New Julfa and its inhabitants,<sup>33</sup> and provide a second body of source material. Much

---

<sup>32</sup>The only work available in English is John Carswell, New Julfa: The Armenian Churches and Other Buildings (Oxford: 1968). Chapter I on "The Historical Background," pp. 3-15, is especially relevant as Carswell uses seventeenth century travellers extensively. He also adds a valuable Appendix, "Travellers' Accounts of Julfa," pp. 73-87. See also V. A. Bayburt'yan, Armianskaya Koloniya Novoĭ Dzhul'fy v XVII veke [The Armenian Colony of New Julfa in the 17th Century] (Erevan: 1969).

<sup>33</sup>Among the travel works one could consult for accounts of New Julfa in the seventeenth century are Antonio de Gouvea, Relaçam em que se tratam

could and should be done with these sources, but insofar as this study is concerned their use will be limited to a supporting role, to be utilized when they might illuminate problems or gaps in the first group.

We shall thus be working with a total of seventy European travellers, thirty-two of whom actually set foot in Armenia. Chapter Two will consist of a detailed bio-bibliographical study of these thirty-two

---

as guerras e grandes Victorias que Alcançon o grãde Rey da Persia Xa Abbas (Lisbon: 1611), translated into French as Relation des grandes guerres et victoires obtenues par le roy de Perse Cha Abbas (Rouen: 1646), Book III of which, entitled "Em que se relata o Cativoiro dos Armenios, sua transmigração: & do que os Padres de S. Augustinho com elles tem passado acerca de sua redução á obediencia de Igreja Romana," is especially important; Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, Comentarios, D. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, ed., 2 vols. (Madrid: 1903-1905), partial French translation by A. de Wicqfort, L'Ambassade de D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa en Perse (Paris: 1667); Pietro Della Valle, Viaggi, 4 vols. (Rome: 1650-1663), letters on Persia reprinted as I Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle: Lettere dalla Persia. I, F. Gaeta and L. Lockhart, eds., Il Nuovo Ramusio VI (Rome: 1972), French translation as Les Fameux Voyages, 4 vols. (Paris: 1663-1665), partial English translation, The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, A Noble Roman, into East-Indies and Arabia Deserta (London: 1665), repr. by The Hakluyt Society edited by Edward Grey as The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India, 2 vols. (London: 1892); Sir Thomas Herbert, A Description of the Persian Monarchy [title varies in later editions] (London: 1634), also ed. by Sir William Foster, Thomas Herbert -- Travels in Persia, 1627-1629 (New York: 1929); Père Pacifique de Provins, Relation de Voyage de Perse (Paris: 1631); Jean de Thevenot, Voyages de M. Thevenot (Paris: 1684), English translation by A. Lovell, The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant (London: 1687); Engelbert Kaempfer, Amoenitatum Exoticarum (Lemgow: 1712); John Fryer, A New Account of East-India and Persia (London: 1698), reissued by the Hakluyt Society, William Crooke, ed., A New Account of East-India and Persia, being Nine Years' Travels, 1672-1681, 3 vols. (London: 1909-1915); and Cornelis Le Bruyn, Reizen over Moskovie, door Persie en Indie (Amsterdam: 1714); Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Muscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes Orientales, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: 1718), Travels into Muscovy, Persia, and Part of the East-Indies, 2 vols. (London: 1737), also A New and More Correct Translation . . . of Mr. Cornelius Le Brun's Travels (London: 1759). These works represent only the more important ones by travellers who did not pass through Armenia but were in Isfahan. A study of New Julfa should be supplemented by the works of those who did travel through Armenia on their way to Persia, e.g. Chardin, Daulier-Deslandes, Lucas and Tavernier. See the Bibliography for references to all the travellers in Armenia and Persia.

prefaced by some general remarks and considerations relevant to the problem at hand; also prominent among our goals in this section, as well as throughout the study in general, will be the critical examination and evaluation of these works as significant primary sources for the history of Armenia. Before proceeding with that, however, it is necessary to discuss a few of the technical and procedural problems encountered and their resolution.

As we have already noted, many of these works are rare; on the other hand, in some cases they exist in numerous editions and translations, a factor at once a boon and a bane. In other words, their increased availability necessitated choosing one over another while worrying that the best edition might still be unavailable. Wherever possible, I located the first edition in the original language, at least for the thirty-two travellers to Armenia. In addition, I attempted to locate any later editions which may have been better and, where the original language was not English, I also sought out English translations. Further, in many instances, I refer to translations into other European languages and also indicate the number of editions of a particular work, since one can argue for a greater dissemination of images, etc., if a work is widely known and read. Such a task, however, can quickly become an end in itself, and I make no claims for completeness in that respect; obviously the popularity and impact of the work of a Tavernier is proved whether it went through ten or twenty editions in the first fifty years of its existence.<sup>34</sup> Occasionally, however, the original edition was completely unavailable, and I was forced to rely solely on a later one or a translation.

---

<sup>34</sup>Actually, between the first publication of Tavernier's Les six voyages (Paris: 1676) and 1724, there seem to have been sixteen editions in French alone. See V. Ball, ed. and trans., Travels in India by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, 2nd edn. by William Crooke, I (London: 1925), pp. lx-lxii.

Also, it will become apparent that besides English we are dealing with works in Dutch, French, German, Italian, Latin, Portugese and Spanish, not to mention those in Armenian, Russian and Turkish which are also utilized and, modesty aside, I can make no claim to competence, let alone fluency, in all of them. Luckily, the majority of the travellers (twenty-two of thirty-two) were either French or English, which reduced the difficulties greatly. Still, the general unavailability of some of the titles coupled with the linguistic difficulties of others did cause several problems.

Thus, as was noted above, I have used original editions whenever possible. In fact, there are only three instances -- apart from the cases where no edition or translation could be found -- where I did not,<sup>35</sup> and translations were available for these. As for the legitimacy of using them, I can only reassert that every effort was made to provide an original edition and point out further that translations are readily used by many prominent scholars.<sup>36</sup> Also, many of them are done very well and closely reflect the meaning of the original. We are not, after all, dealing with complex topics or little-known or forgotten languages, but the living languages of a continent in which there was a good deal of international contact and intercourse.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup>These problems will be referred to in the appropriate places in Chapter Two.

<sup>36</sup>For instance, Carswell, New Julfa, and Lockhart, Fall, both utilize travellers' accounts extensively and rely on translations to a much greater degree than is the case herein. Even Bernard Lewis has resorted to them on occasion; see his Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire (Norman, Oklahoma: 1963), passim.

<sup>37</sup>This is not to deny the very real problems that exist in some of the translations. Many of Chardin's religious remarks were suppressed in early French editions of his work, for example. See the Introduction by

In fact, in many cases where originals and translations were readily available, I often used both, not only to spare myself the task of translation, but, more importantly, to impart a contemporary flavor and spirit to the extensive excerpts which will be provided. In addition, contemporary translations also serve to make a work -- and therefore the images with which we are concerned -- more widely known, and are instruments of dissemination equal to any original. The matter of their citation will be handled in one of three ways: where only a translation has been used, the accompanying footnote will cite the author and page alone. Where I have prepared the translation, the reference will again be only to the author and one set of pages, followed by the original text. When, however, an outside translation is utilized the footnote will appear as in note 4 above, i.e. with two sets of page-references separated by a slash. In these cases the original text will always be cited first, and the original text will be provided only until it seems clear that the translator's accuracy has been established. Thereafter, in order to avoid pedantry and conserve space the texts will be omitted unless it seems advisable to provide them in order to clarify some discrepancy or question. It is hoped that this system will prove to be the most practical.

Similarly, one encounters problems of shifting usage over the centuries, especially in French, where the use of the various accents is only beginning to be systematic in our period; also the changing use of "i" and "j" and "u" and "v", not to mention the ubiquitous "f", is contrary to

---

L. Langlès to his authoritative ten-volume (plus Atlas) edition of Chardin, Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient I (Paris: 1811), and the "Preface" by N. M. Penzer to Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia (London: 1927, repr. Amsterdam: 1971).

current usage. Aside from changing this last letter to "s" in all cases, and correcting a few very obvious typographical errors, I have left all the texts as they appear in whichever edition is being used, with the following exception: in a few instances, I have added French accents where their absence in the original text might result in the mispronunciation of the word. The resultant variations and discrepancies in spelling and punctuation should not materially affect any of the statements or arguments and might even contribute slightly to a better understanding of the seventeenth century milieu, which we shall first begin to explore by detailing and evaluating the lives and works of our principal authorities.



## Chapter Two -- The Travellers

To satisfie the World in my behalfe, as touching my travells, I sincerely protest, that neither ambition, too much curiosity, nor any reputation I ever sought, from the bubling breath of breathlesse man . . . did expose me to such long peregrinations and dangerous adventures past. But the proceeding whereof, thousands conjecture the cause, as many the manner; ten thousand thousands the effect:<sup>1</sup>

What sorts of individuals undertook the always long, usually boring and sometimes dangerous voyages of the seventeenth century? Where were they from? What motivated them to leave their homes for years at a time? Why did they choose the destinations they did? Answers to these questions may seem obvious but should nevertheless not be taken for granted.

Aside from the casual but nonetheless valid observation that the meek usually did not travel, there seems to be no common denominator to unite the many seventeenth century travellers to the East. Certainly an adventurous, or at least curious, nature was a requisite; otherwise, in examining the thirty-two travellers who actually set foot in Armenia we can discover very little which can help us generalize. Therefore, let us widen our view for a moment and consider the larger group of seventeenth travellers to or through Persia, remembering that even this glittering land of the "Sofy" was for many only one more stage on the long road to the even more fabled lands of India and the East Indies.

---

<sup>1</sup>William Lithgow, The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures & Painefull Peregrinations of long Nineteene Yeares Travayles from Scotland to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affrica (London: 1632, repr. Glasgow: 1906), p. 4. The most useful summary of Lithgow's life and times is to be found in Boies Penrose, Urbane Travellers, 1591-1635 (Philadelphia: 1942), pp. 109-157.

A breakdown by nationality yields some interesting statistics.<sup>2</sup>

Twenty-six of the travellers were French, seventeen British (including one anonymous author who travelled with the Sherley Brothers), seven German or German speaking, six Italian, five Portuguese, four Dutch, and two Spanish. There were also one Fleming, one Pole, and one Swede. While seemingly significant, these tabulations should not be used to generalize to any degree, as there are many variables and historical circumstances which modify any conclusions.

Thus, despite their coming from the most populous nation in Europe, the large French majority in our sample is not merely a result of the fact that the French simply travelled more widely than any other national groups, though statistically of course they may have. To better understand the complexity of the extent and number of seventeenth-century travels, one must consider other factors as well. Some of these are less tangible, such as national interests and goals, internal conditions in the respective European nations, and the patterns and timing of their overseas expansions, all carefully correlated historically. For example, the British statistic is somewhat misleading until it is shown that of the seventeen entries, all but four of them were in Persia prior to 1623 or so. Not only does this statistic reflect the strong Elizabethan and Stuart interest in Persia, but when it is also seen that of these remaining four none appeared in Persia before 1664, one is tempted to explain this circumstance by reference to the problems of the English Civil War and the Restoration. Even then, this insignificant presence does not help us understand much beyond a

---

<sup>2</sup>The results of the various breakdowns are tabulated in Appendices A through E.

temporary decline in British interest in Persia.<sup>3</sup>

Motivation to travel, on the other hand, is more directly significant. In one sense, of course, there were as many reasons for travelling as there were travellers themselves; but it is possible to classify individuals on the basis of their reasons for travelling. If one does this sort of shuffling, all the obvious purposes appear: seventeenth-century men travelled to the East because: a) they were sent -- e.g. on diplomatic, military or scientific missions; b) they were seeking trade and economic profit; c) they wanted to leave unhappy situations behind them and/or see the world and seek fame; d) they wanted to bring the True Word of God to those who did not know it.

An examination of the seventy travellers to Persia from this point of view produces the following statistics: twenty-four travellers were members of a religious order; seventeen were attached to embassies or in the service of foreign countries; twelve were merchants or involved in trade;

---

<sup>3</sup>The large number of Britons who expatriated to or travelled in Russia in the latter part of the seventeenth century and after serves as a further counterweight to any tendency toward attributing too much to the limited statistics presented herein. For references to many of these travellers see Adelung, Übersicht, Anthony Cross, ed., Russia Under Western Eyes, Peter Putnam, ed., Seven Britons, and Francesca Wilson, ed., Muscovy. British travellers return to Persia in much greater numbers after about 1730 or so, first with the hope of reviving the trans-Caspian trade and then increasing in proportion to Britain's expansion into India. See especially Jonas Hanway, An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea, 4 vols. in 3 (London: 1753), and also James Spilman], A Journey through Russia into Persia (London: 1742). The authorship of this work is sometimes ascribed to "Two English Gentlemen" (cf. e.g. G. Curzon, Persia and the Persian Question, I, p. 17), and a researcher can easily go off in search of two separate works when there is, in fact, only one. The two Gentlemen were probably John Elton, the real motivator of the plan, and Mungo Graeme; Elton's journal is quoted extensively in Hanway, I, pp. 16-33, 35-42, 47-48, and it closely resembles A Journey through Russia. John Cook, M.D., Voyages and Travels through the Russian Empire, Tartary, and Part of the Kingdom of Persia, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: 1770), provides further information on the attempts to re-establish this trade route.

twelve were tourists, apparently out to see the world; three were on scientific or scholarly missions; and two had purposes which are either unknown or uncertain.

Immediately, some qualifications are necessary. Attributing motives or purpose is by no means an exact enterprise, and it has often been necessary to render judgments on incomplete evidence or on arbitrary bases. Thus, it was frequently the custom to use men of religion for purposes quite separate from their primary concerns. Louis XIV, for example, who sent out scores of scientific and diplomatic missions to all parts of the world, had among his goals the establishment of a safe overland route through Russia and Siberia to China, ostensibly to lessen the terrible toll taken by shipwreck. Père Philippe Avril, in 1683, and Père Jacques Villotte<sup>4</sup> in 1688, both Jesuits, were assigned this task as were others before and after. That their failures were in part due to suspicion of their activities by the Russians only emphasized one of the many problems involved not only in establishing such a route but also in determining reasons for travel.

Other governments also used clerics as ambassadors. Thus, in 1646, the Venetian Senate dispatched Antonio di Fiandra,<sup>5</sup> a Dominican monk from Flanders, to the Court of Shah 'Abbās in an attempt to gain Persian support for the Venetian struggle against the Ottomans. Earlier still the well-known Augustinian monk Antonio de Gouvea was sent by Philip III to Shah 'Abbās I in 1602 and again in 1608 and 1613.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>These individuals and the others mentioned here will be discussed in more detail below.

<sup>5</sup>On Fiandra see EP, p. 108. His report of 28 March 1649 can be found in G. Berchet, La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia, C. Negri, ed. (Torino: 1865), Doc. I, pp. 218-225.

<sup>6</sup>On Gouvea see Biographie universelle (hereafter BU), XVII, 265-266, Schefer, "Essay," pp. xiii-xv, and Chapter One, note 33 above.

Similarly, some of the men who travelled East in the service of a government or trading company were pursuing no more than the age-old desire to see foreign lands, in the absence of wealthy families or other means of financial support. Both Jan Struys and Niccolao Manucci left their homes while in their teens and, penniless, still managed to find their separate ways through Armenia to Persia and India. Struys made several voyages in the employ of various bodies before enlisting in Russian service and going East. Manucci's stowing away on a Levant-bound ship resulted in his being accepted as a page to Henry Bard, Viscount Bellomont, and travelling all the way to India, where he remained for the rest of his life. These kinds of qualifications therefore limit any discussion of attributing motivations and account for my seemingly inconsistent classification, as, for example, when I treat both Struys (who is listed as in foreign service in Appendix D) and Manucci as "tourists", i.e. travelling primarily to see the world. For similar reasons, Paul Lucas is included in this category, even though the three voyages to the East about which he wrote were scientific and scholarly missions, two of which were performed for Louis XIV. The Swede Henrik Brenner, who was above all a scholar, provides yet another example.<sup>7</sup> Should he be classified with Pétis de la Croix, Tournefort and Buxbaum as such, or should he be included with Fabritius and the others of the Swedish mission with whom he went to Persia in 1697? For our purposes, he is placed with those in foreign service, but

---

<sup>7</sup>Brenner (1669-1732) was an orientalist and linguist who was held captive in Russia for twenty-two years in the time of Peter's Northern War with Sweden. During his captivity, Brenner learned Armenian and, on his return to Stockholm produced his major work, Epitome Commentariorum Moysis Armeni, de Origine & Regibus Armeniorum et Parthorum (Stockholm: 1723). On Brenner see BU, V, 474; Nouveau biographie générale [hereafter NBG], VII, 322; EP, pp. 203-204; and L. Msérianitz, "Henri Brenner (Henricus Brennerus) et ses études arméniennes," Le monde oriental, XXIV (1930), 67-73.

the point is hardly settled; he might even be better counted among the tourists since a major motivation seems to have been a desire to see Persia.

With these considerations in mind, we shall proceed to examine the lives and works of those thirty-two travellers who, it has been determined, actually travelled through historic Greater Armenia between the years 1581 and 1725. Before turning to that, however, a statistical survey of this group, similar to that presented earlier for our larger sample, might prove interesting.

Of these thirty-two, eighteen were French, five German, four English, four Italian and one Dutch. As to purpose or profession, fourteen belonged to religious orders, eight were tourists, including one, Poser, whose work has so far eluded my searches,<sup>8</sup> five were merchants, three were scientist/scholars, and two were in foreign service, although one of them, Jan Struys, is discussed with the tourists, for the reason noted earlier. These travellers will be grouped first according to their reasons for travelling to the East and second according to nationality, with this exception: examination of each of the missionaries in detail comparable to that of the other travellers would greatly lengthen what will in any case be a very long survey. Many of these missionaries provide relatively little in the way of information with regard to Armenia and can therefore, I believe, be safely

---

<sup>8</sup>Heinrich Poser, or von Poser (1599-1661), is briefly sketched in Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie [hereafter ADB], XXVI, 456-458, and in EP, pp. 161-162, as a German nobleman who travelled from Constantinople through Armenia (Ani, Erevan) and Persia to India between 1620 and 1625. His work is cited as Des Edelgebohrnen Herren Heinrich von Poser und Gross Nedlitz Lebens- und Todes Geschichte, worinnen das Tagebuch seiner Reise von Constantinopel und durch Bulgarey, Armenien, Persien und Indien aus Licht gestellt (Jena: 1675). According to the ADB, he seems to have travelled to the East mostly to see it and add to his knowledge and would therefore be classified as a tourist.

and quickly dispensed with in passing. Consequently, I will limit the more elaborate biographical sketches in that section to those missionaries whose accounts are of greater importance for Armenian history, giving little more than bibliographical references in the other cases.

Only one of the thirty-two Europeans who travelled in Armenia between 1581 and 1725 was with an official diplomatic embassy. This was Georg Tectander von der Jabel (d.1614), amanuensis to the Emperor Rudolph II's ambassador, Stephan Kakasch von Zalonkemeny.<sup>9</sup> The Emperor had appointed Kakasch as Ambassador to Russia and Persia as a result of Sir Anthony Sherley's return through Prague from his own travels in the East.<sup>10</sup> Kakasch, originally from a noble Transylvanian family, chose the Lutheran Tectander, and several others, to accompany him. The party set out on 27 August 1602 travelling overland to Moscow, which they reached on 9 November. While in Moscow they had an audience with Tsar Boris Godunov and tried,

---

<sup>9</sup>There is very little information on Kakasch and less on Tectander. Of the various biographical dictionaries only the NBG, XXVII, 377-378, discusses the former, while the latter is completely neglected. The mission and the account of it published by Tectander are, however, discussed in Adelung, Übersicht, II, pp. 127-136; EP, pp. 182-184; and Schefer, "Essay," pp. xi-xii. Schefer also edited and translated the account itself as Iter Persicum, ou description du voyage en Perse entrepris en 1602 (Paris: 1877); a first edition, in German and full of errors, appeared in 1605 but was disavowed by Tectander who later published the authorized edition: Iter Persicum, Kurtze doch aussführliche vnd warhafftige Beschreibung der Persianischen Reiss (Altenburg in Meissen: 1609, repr. 1610). The text of the original manuscript in Vienna was published in Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats-und Kriegskunst (1819), nos. 11, 12, 27, 29, 37, 39, 40, 41. Both of these German versions are very rare, and I have had to rely solely upon Schefer's excellent translation of 1877.

<sup>10</sup>The Sherley episode is one of the strangest and most written about in the history of East-West relations. The best work on these adventurous brothers is David W. Davies, Elizabethans Errant: The Strange Fortunes of Sir Thomas Sherley and His Three Sons (Ithaca, New York: 1967), which includes an extensive bibliography, unfortunately scattered throughout the copious notes.

it seems, to enlist his support for a projected alliance with Shah 'Abbas against the Ottomans. Their stay in Moscow lasted only four weeks, however, and by Christmas Eve they had reached Kazan, where they spent the remainder of the winter. On 11 May 1603 they set off again for Astrakhan, where they arrived on the twenty-seventh. Two months later they set sail and, after a very difficult crossing of the Caspian, reached Langārūd [Langheran in Tectander's text] in Gilān, where the notorious climate quickly began to take its toll: one by one the members of the party succumbed "to great privations and abundant miseries,"<sup>11</sup> including also the food, which consisted only of

tasteless mutton, bread made from rice and, for every drink, the unhealthy water of the Caspian Sea. Meanwhile, the land produces grapes and fruit in abundance but the Persians do not dare make wine, much less drink it. They dry the grape to sell it or else eat it when it is picked. Because of these privations, we were not slow to fall ill, my master as well as the other men of his party, composed of eight people. Pawlowsky was the first to succumb.<sup>12</sup>

Kakasch himself died on 25 October 1603, at Lāhijān, a day's journey east of Langārūd, and before long only Tectander and one other man remained alive; nevertheless, he carried on the mission and finally met Shah 'Abbās in

---

<sup>11</sup>Tectander, p. 41, "à de grand privations et à beaucoup de misères." On the unhealthy climate of Gilān and the prevalence of malaria there, see G. Curzon, Persia and the Persian Question, I, pp. 354-355, 360-363. Jonas Hanway, who was there in 1743, summed up the general opinion in these biting words. "As GHILAN is generally esteemed the sink of PERSIA, so LANGAROOD is considered as the sink of GHILAN" [Historical Account, I, p. 161].

<sup>12</sup>Ibid. :

la viande de mouton sans saveur et du pain fait avec du riz, et pour toute boisson, l'eau malsaine qui sort de la mer Caspienne. Le pays produit cependant du raisin et des fruits en abondance, mais les Persans n'osent pas faire du vin, encore moins en boire. Ils font sécher le raisin pour le vendre ou bien ils le mangent dès qu'il est cueilli. Par suite de ces privations, nous ne tardâmes pas à tomber malades, mon maître aussi bien que tous les gens de sa suite, composée de huit personnes. Pawlowsky succomba le premier.



Tabriz. He was with him for several weeks while that monarch was campaigning in Armenia and claims to have been present at the taking of Erevan, concerning which he provides some details in his account. By January, 1604, he was off on his return trip, and, leaving Moscow late in August of the same year, he must have arrived back home sometime that autumn.

Tectander's brief account<sup>13</sup> is of minimal importance to our work. Because it is one of the earliest in this period, however, it cannot be neglected, and the information he provides on the wars of 'Abbās in Armenia, while scanty, is also not always found elsewhere.

The second group to be treated consists of three scholar-scientists: two botanists and one orientalist. They are François Pétis de la Croix, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, and Johann Christian Buxbaum.

The first of these is the orientalist, François Pétis de la Croix, whose father and son were also orientalists.<sup>14</sup> Pétis' father, François Pétis (1622-1695), was appointed Secretary-Interpreter to Louis XIV in Turkish and Arabic in 1652 and held that post until his death. The young Pétis, born in 1653, was sent by Colbert to the Levant in 1670 to study Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

Pétis' first stop was Aleppo, where he lived from November, 1670, to April, 1674, when he left for Isfahan to learn Persian. This journey took

<sup>13</sup>Schefer's small octavo edition contains only seventy-eight pages of text, another thirty-five of appendices and thirteen of notes.

<sup>14</sup>On Pétis de la Croix  fils, see BU, XXXII, 585-587; NBG, XXXIX, 704-705; Schefer, "Essay," pp. lxxxvii-lxxxviii; and L. Langlès, ed., Relation de Dourry Efendy . . . suivie de l'Extrait des Voyages de Pétis de la Croix, rédigé par lui-même (Paris: 1810), pp. 73-174, for the only published version of Pétis' experiences and a useful introduction. On Pétis père, see BU, XXXII, 585 and NBG, XXXIX, 704; for Alexandre Louis Marie Pétis de la Croix (1698-1751), the son of our Pétis de la Croix, see BU, XXXII, 587 and NBG, XXXIX, 705.

him through Diyarbekir and Mosul, to Baghdad, where in May, 1674, he met the Abbé Carré, who related that, "It was a marvellous thing, but I can assure you that this young man, during his stay in Aleppo, had perfected himself in both the Turkish and Arabic tongues. He knew and wrote them so well that one would never have taken him for a European, and he passed everywhere for a Turk or Arab."<sup>15</sup>

From Baghdad, Pétis proceeded downriver to Basra, then entered Persia at Bandar-Rik and travelled via Shīrāz to Isfahan which he reached in early August. He spent nearly two years there perfecting his Persian and left in July, 1676, for Turkey. On this journey, he travelled first to Tabriz,<sup>16</sup> then turned west to Van, Tatvan, Bitlis and Diyarbekir. At that point, instead of going on to Aleppo and sailing to Constantinople, he joined another caravan and travelled overland, arriving there in December. In 1680, after ten years in the East, Pétis at last returned to Paris. In addition to his mastery of the three major languages of Islam he had also learned Armenian, which he had begun -- but had not continued -- in Isfahan. In his journal, he noted that

The last study I made in Isfahan was of the Tartar language; I had thought to use the time which remained to me for Armenian, because the R. P. La Maze, a Jesuit, whom I had often seen in Djulfah, offered to teach it to me . . .; however, I preferred Tartar, Armenian taking too long to learn.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>Abbé Carré, *The Travels of the Abbé Carré*, Lady Fawcett, trans., Sir Charles Fawcett and Sir Richard Burn, eds., III (London: 1948), p. 860. See the "Introduction," I, pp. xiii-xxxvi for biographical and bibliographical details relating to Carré and his missions to the East.

<sup>16</sup>At Miana, south of Tabriz, Pétis exhumed the remains of the famous traveller Jean de Thevenot who had died there in 1667, and took them to Tabriz to be interred in the Capucin monastery. See Pétis de la Croix, p. 140. Thevenot had been a good friend of Pétis père.

<sup>17</sup>Pétis de la Croix, p. 127, and ibid., n. 36:

La dernière étude que je fis à Ispahan fut de langue tartare; j'avais eu la pensée d'employer le temps qui me restoit

On the bottom of that page Pétis added a note to the effect that he had since learned Armenian, though he gives no particulars.

When his father died in 1695, Pétis  fils  succeeded him as Secretary-Interpreter to the King, and  his  son was given the same post after him in 1721. Pétis translated several works<sup>18</sup> which are unimportant for our concerns. On the other hand, his journal, abridged though it is, provides some interesting material on the route between Van and Diyarbekir, but not much more. In its published form, it is hardly a major source for Armenia, though it is more valuable for Aleppo and Isfahan.

In contrast to Pétis de la Croix's work, that of Joseph Pitton de Tournefort<sup>19</sup> is one of the most important sources for this study, as will be explained below. He was born at Aix en Provence on 5 June 1656, the son of Pierre Pitton, Seigneur de Tournefort and Aimare de Fagoue, who was of a noble Parisian family. Young Tournefort was sent to a Jesuit school

---

à la langue arménienne, parce que le R. P. La Maze, jésuite, que j'allois voir quelquefois à Djulfah, m'offrit de me l'enseigner . . . ; cependant l'arménien étant trop long à apprendre, je préférai le tartare.

Jean-Baptiste de la Maze will be discussed with the other Jesuits at the end of this chapter.

<sup>18</sup>His most famous translation was his version of Mille et un jours, 5 vols. (Paris: 1710ff.). He also translated L'histoire de Timurbec, connu sous le nom de Tamerlan, . . . écrite en persan par Cheref Eddin Ali, 4 vols. (Paris: 1722).

<sup>19</sup>On Tournefort see the "Eulogy" by Bernard de Fontenelle of the Académie Royale des Sciences, which is found at the beginning of both the French and English editions of Tournefort's Relation. This eulogy was delivered to a public assembly of the Académie on 10 April 1709 and was first printed in its Memoires, 1708, pp. 143ff. The English edition also has M. Lauthier's "The Life of M. Tournefort: In a letter to M. Begon, Intendant of the Marine at Rochefort, &c." I, pp. v-xxi. Similar information is to be found in BU, XLII, 41-47; NBC, XLV, 535-539; and EP, pp. 184-187.

in Aix where he studied Latin but "sometimes would miss his school, to go a simpling in the Fields, and to study Nature instead of the Language of the antient Romans."<sup>20</sup> Despite this strong scientific interest, the elder Tournefort had intended his son for an ecclesiastical career and had him enter the seminary in Aix where he nevertheless did not abandon his avocation. When his father died suddenly in 1677, young Tournefort was free to pursue a scientific career. The next years Tournefort spent in study and travel throughout Europe, finally settling in Paris and, in 1692, became a member of the Académie des sciences. In 1698 he at last took his doctorate in medicine and, two years later, was recommended by the Comte de Pontchartrain, Secretary of State for Louis XIV, to go to the Levant and Africa on a scientific expedition. This journey lasted just under two years and three months, as Tournefort left Paris on 9 March 1700, accompanied by a German physician, Andreas von Gundelscheimer, and Claude Aubriet of Châlons, an artist.<sup>21</sup> They returned to Marseille on 3 June 1702 after travelling through Crete, the islands of the Archipelago, Constantinople, the southern Black Sea coast, Trebizond [Trebisond], Erzurum [Erzeron], Kars [Cars], Tiflis [Teflis], Eýmiacin [Itchmiadzin], and Erevan [Erivan], where he arrived on 8 August 1701.<sup>22</sup> Interestingly, Tournefort's main purpose in making the then three hour journey from Eýmiacin to Erevan was to see the

---

<sup>20</sup>De Fontenelle, "Eloge," sig. a3r/"Elogium," p. xxxii, "quelquefois il manquoit à sa Classe, pour aller herboriser à la Campagne, & pour étudier la Nature au lieu de la langue des Anciens Romains."

<sup>21</sup>On Gundelscheimer (1668-1713) see ADB, X, 125 and BU, XVIII, 242; on Aubriet (1651-1743), BU, II, 387-388, and NBG, III, 583.

<sup>22</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 340/II, p. 255.

"Patriarch" lodged there in order to try to secure guides for an ascent of Ararat. His experiences on this ascent will be described below; let it suffice here to note that the summit was not reached.

Not only was Tournefort charged with observing "Natural History" and "ancient and modern Geography" in the countries through which he passed, he was also to observe "the Commerce, Religion, and Manners of the different People inhabiting there."<sup>23</sup> These tasks he accomplished admirably, bringing back not only 8,846 species of new plants<sup>24</sup> but a wealth of sociological, anthropological and historical observations which, in my opinion, make his Relation one of the most significant examples of the genre. Also, Tournefort stands as virtually the only traveller, excluding a few of the missionaries, who seems to have visited Armenia and Georgia for their own sakes. Unlike the great majority of travellers up to the nineteenth century, he was not just passing through on his way to or from India or Persia but went only as far as Armenia before turning his back on the East to return overland to Izmir [Smyrna] via Erzurum, Tokat [Tocat], Ankara [Angora], and Bursa [Prusa], where he met two botanists, "one an Emir, the other an Armenian, who went for great Doctors."<sup>25</sup> This matter of "doctors" is an interesting one: Tournefort more than once was called upon to treat local people, especially prominent officials who seemed to suffer extensively from fistulae in ano, a not very treatable malady.<sup>26</sup> Still, Tournefort's

---

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., I, p. 1/p. 1, "le Commerce, la Religion & les Moeurs des differens peuples qui les habitent."

<sup>24</sup>Fontenelle, "Eloge," sig. b2r.

<sup>25</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 474/p. 358, "l'un Emir & l'autre Armenien, qui passoient pour de grands Docteurs." "Went" in this context means "passed".

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., II, p. 294/pp. 281-282.

knowledge of medicine came to his aid repeatedly, and in a short digression after treating the Aga of Kars, Tournefort remarked:

a Box of Medicines well chosen and prepar'd, and properly used, is a good Passport. There's no Part of the World where one can't raise one's self Friends by the help of Physick. The greatest Lawyer in France would be taken for a very useless Person in Asia, in Africa, and in Armenia: The most profound and zealous Divines would not be more esteem'd, unless the Lord would efficaciously touch the Hearts of the Infidels: But the Fear of Death prevailing in all Places, they are every where glad of Physicians, and pay them a great deal of Respect.<sup>27</sup>

Other travellers confirm this Eastern -- both Christian and Muslim -- faith in "Franks" as doctors, whether deserved or not. Thus Alexandre de Rhodes, a Jesuit travelling through Armenia and Turkey on his return from southeast Asia in late 1648 and early 1649 was sometimes asked (by Turks more often than not) to treat the sick, which, he exults, "I gladly did, and once, seeing a little girl who was going to die, I baptised her under pretext of washing her with a little warm water, pronouncing the sacramental words secretly. She died soon after. I had the consolation of having opened the gate of heaven for her through the sacrament."<sup>28</sup>

Jan Struys, among others, had a similar experience. While the slave

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., II, p. 377/p. 282:

une boîte de remedes bien choisis, bien préparez, & donnez à propos, est un excellent passeport. Il n'y a point de lieu sur la terre où l'on ne se fasse de bons amis avec le secours de la medecine; le plus grand Jurisconsulte de France passeroit pour un personnage fort inutile en Asie, en Affrique, & en Arménie; les plus profonds & les plus zeletz Theologiens n'y feroient pas de grands progrès si le Seigneur ne touchoit efficacement le coeur des infidelles: mais comme on fuit la mort par tout pays, on y recherche & on y revere les Medecins.

<sup>28</sup>Alexandre de Rhodes, pp. 451-452/pp. 234-235, "ie faisois volontiers, & vne fois voyant vne petite fille qui s'en alloit mourir, sous pretexte de la lauer avec vn peu d'eau tiede, ie la Baptisay, prononçant secrettement les paroles Sacramentelle, elle mourut vn peu après, j'eus cette consolation de luy auoir ouuert la porte du Ciel par le Sacrement."

of a Muslim prince near Erevan, in July of 1670, Struys was promised his freedom (while his master was to get fifty écus) if he would treat the rupture of a Dominican monk on Ararat. Struys' ascent of Ararat will be discussed later; for now it is enough to note his successful treatment -- an unguent made of 200 boiled fresh hen's eggs applied four or five times daily combined with the trussing of the patient. Among other gifts he received, Struys was presented with a Latin testimonial to his skills.<sup>29</sup>

To return to Tournefort, however, we find him at Izmir on 18 December 1701,<sup>30</sup> ready to embark for Marseille, where he arrived on 3 June 1702.<sup>31</sup> Egypt and Syria had to be omitted from his itinerary as the plague was raging there at the time.<sup>32</sup> The years after his return to Paris were spent in tending the Royal Garden, in teaching as Professor of Medicine at the Royal College and in trying to see his Relation through to publication. His untimely death in December, 1708, from injuries suffered in an accident, left this last task unachieved.<sup>33</sup>

All in all, Tournefort emerges as a brave, congenial, scholarly, and objective traveller, well suited to the tasks set before him. His interest in and discussion of Armenia and Georgia is far more extensive and

<sup>29</sup>Jan Struys, The Voyages and Travels of John Struys through Italy, Greece, Muscovy, etc., John Morrison, trans. (London: 1684), pp. 214-217.

<sup>30</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 494/p. 374.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 526/p. 398.

<sup>32</sup>Fontenelle, "Eloge," sig. b3v.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., sig. b4r; Lauthier, in Tournefort, A Voyage, I, xxvi. The work itself was published in French in two quarto volumes at Paris in 1717, in three octavo volumes at Lyon, 1717, and at Amsterdam, 1718, in a two volume quarto edition. Two English editions exist, translated by John Ozell: a two-volume quarto edition, London, 1718, and a three volume octavo edition, London, 1741. They are adorned with over two hundred illustrations.

varied than any other travel book before the nineteenth century; approximately one hundred seventy five pages of volume two of the original French edition treat of his experiences there, and includes material on the physical aspect of the countryside as well as the cities and towns, prices, customs and the manners and customs of the inhabitants. As a result, his work is, I think, one of the most important in its presentation of an image of Armenia and Armenians to Europe at this time and should stand equal to, if not above, the works of Chardin and Tavernier; to whose consideration we shall soon turn. Before that, however, we must quickly discuss our last scientist, who was, like Tournefort, a botanist.

Born in Saxony in 1694, the son of a village doctor, Johann Christian Buxbaum<sup>34</sup> began but never completed his own medical studies at Wittenberg, Jena and Leiden, concentrating his attentions instead on botany. Through the famous Dr. Frederick Hoffman, Buxbaum was called to the attention of Peter I who brought him to St. Petersburg to establish a botanical garden; shortly thereafter he was appointed Professor at the Imperial College and admitted to the newly created Akademiya Nauk in 1724. The following year he undertook a journey to Constantinople and returned to Russia by way of Anatolia, Armenia, Shamākhā, Baku and Astrakhan. After his health deteriorated, he decided a change of climate was needed and returned to Saxony. The rigors of that journey, however, weakened him further and he died shortly after his return home, in 1730. Buxbaum's major work,<sup>35</sup> based on

---

<sup>34</sup>On Buxbaum, see BU, VI, 267; NBG, VII, 917; EP, pp. 87-88; and Petr Pekarskii, Istoriya Imperatorskoĭ Akademii Nauk' v' Peterburge [History of the Imperial Academy of Science in St. Petersburg], I (St. Petersburg: 1870), pp. 234-246.

<sup>35</sup>J[ohann] C[hristian] Buxbaum, Plantarum minus Cognitarum Centuria I - V complectens Plantas circa Byzantium & in Oriente observatas, 5 vols. (St. Petersburg: 1728-1740).



these travels, is entirely botanical and scientific in nature and thus has no value for our concerns. But he undoubtedly deserves mention as one of the forerunners of a group which would soon appear in the Middle East in much greater numbers.

Five merchants or traders wrote about their travels through Armenia during our period. They are John Newbery, John Midnall (or Mildenhall), both Englishmen, and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, André Daulier-Deslandes, and Jean Chardin, all French.

John Newbery<sup>36</sup> has the distinction of being probably the first Englishman to visit Armenia, as well as having made the first English overland journey from Persia to Constantinople across Anatolia. He made a total of three voyages to the East, the first one a mere eight months in duration. On that first voyage, Newbery left London in March, 1579, and travelled to Jerusalem via Tripoli, in Syria, and Jaffa, returning the same way. Nothing is known of his life before this time. Although his purpose on this first voyage probably was the pious one of pilgrimage, it seems likely that thoughts of trade and profit were never too far from his mind.<sup>37</sup>

In any event, it is Newbery's second voyage which concerns us, and the only record of it is confined to the pages of Purchas.<sup>38</sup> This excursion,

<sup>36</sup>For virtually all that is known about Newbery, see Sir William Foster, England's Quest of Eastern Trade (London: 1933, repr. New York: 1967), pp. 79-99. See also Cecil Tragen, Elizabethan Venture (London: 1953), passim.

<sup>37</sup>Foster, England's Quest, pp. 75-80.

<sup>38</sup>John Newbery, "Two Voyages of Master John Newberie, One, into the Holy Land; The other to Balsara, Ormus, Persia, and backe thorow Turkie," in Samuel Purchas, ed., Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes, VIII (Glasgow: 1905), pp. 449-481. Foster, England's Quest, pp. 87-89, discusses the many problems relating to this account.

with Hormuz as its goal, and aimed at surveying the economic situation of the Middle East and exploring the possibilities of establishing English trade, was strictly a private undertaking for Newbery, who was, in fact, not accompanied by any other Westerners for most of it.

He arrived at Aleppo on 31 January 1581, left there on 19 March and reached Hormuz safely three months later in the company of "one Turke, and one Moore of Lahor, and one Moore of Fez in Barbarie, and five Persians, and twelve Moores of Aleppo, Aman, and other places, and one Nos-trane, a Christian, and my man, who was a Greeke."<sup>39</sup> His stay there was acceptable to the Portugese governor but caused a good deal of alarm among some of the Venetians, who controlled most of its commerce. Despite their machinations, which even went to the extent of luring away his Greek servant, Newbery stayed in Hormuz until the first of August, when he left for Persia and the return trip home.

The road through Persia was the usual one from Bandar 'Abbās through Lār and Shīrāz, to Isfahan, which he reached on 4 October.<sup>40</sup> This royal city detained him only three days, however, and his account of it consists mostly of commercial details, which he provides for places throughout his entire journey. He continued on through Kashan and Qum, finally reaching "the great Citie of Teuris or Tauris" on 23 November.<sup>41</sup>

After a week at Tabriz, where he attended services at the Armenian church on the 26th, Newbery left on 1 December and headed for Erevan

<sup>39</sup>Newbery, p. 459.

<sup>40</sup>Very nearly everyone who travelled between Isfahan and the Persian Gulf went this way, probably because of the possibility of stopping at one or two large towns, such as those mentioned.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., pp. 460-467.

[Errewan], where he arrived on 9 December, after passing through Sufian [Souffion], Marand [Merent], Julfa [Jolfa], and Naxiŷewan [Naxnan]. On the twelfth, he went to Eŷmiacin [Echmiassen], and by 21 December he had arrived at Erzurum [Arserom], where he remained until the twenty-ninth.<sup>42</sup>

From Erzurum, his journey took him through Erzincan [Arsingam], Tokat [Tocat], across and parallel to the Kizilirmak [Cusalmach], close to, but not through, Ankara [Angria] and Bursa [Borsa], and at last to Constantinople on 10 March 1582.<sup>43</sup> The remainder of that journey should have been straightforward enough, even in those days, and would have taken Newbery to Venice and then probably home to England overland,<sup>44</sup> but he decided on a newer -- and longer -- itinerary which took him from Constantinople on 4 April over the Black Sea, to Jassy and through Poland and Dantzic, where he finally embarked for Hull, at last arriving back in London on 31 August 1582.<sup>45</sup>

By mid-February, 1583, Newbery was gone again, bound for Aleppo on the Tiger<sup>46</sup> with Ralph Fitch and four others.<sup>47</sup> This third voyage was the most

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 468-470.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., pp. 471-476.

<sup>44</sup>Foster, England's Quest, p. 86.

<sup>45</sup>Newbery, p. 451.

<sup>46</sup>"Her Husband's to Aleppo gone, Master o' th' Tiger." Foster, England's Quest, p. 92 and others have cited this line spoken by the First Witch in Macbeth [Act I, Scene 3] as proof that Shakespeare knew his Hakluyt, and which reflects the general Elizabethan interest in the East.

<sup>47</sup>These were John Eldred, a merchant well acquainted with the Aleppo-Baghdad route, William Shales, also a merchant, William Leeds, a jeweller, and a painter named James Story. Fitch (1550?-1611) is by far the most famous of the group and is well-known for his travels in India and south-east Asia. See Dictionary of National Biography [hereafter DNB], VII, 77-78; J. Horton Ryley, Ralph Fitch: England's Pioneer to India and Burma (London: 1899); Foster, England's Quest, pp. 90-109; and Sir William Foster, ed., Early Travels in India, 1583-1619 (London: 1921, repr. Delhi:

ambitious of all and took Newbery, Fitch and Leeds to the heart of India, after long months of travel, hardship and adventure. On 28 September 1584,<sup>48</sup> they separated in Fatehpur, near Agra. Leeds was to remain in service to the ruler there, Fitch to explore the Ganges valley and its trade possibilities, and Newbery to head west for Aleppo or Constantinople. Newbery, Fitch wrote, "did promise me, if it pleased God, to meet me in Bengalor within two years with a ship out of England."<sup>49</sup> It presumably did not please God, for John Newbery was never heard from again.

Largely due to this fact, and to Fitch's safe return from India on 29 April, 1591,<sup>50</sup> Newbery, though the leader and initiator of the venture, has all but been forgotten until recent years while Fitch, his clear subordinate, has long been acclaimed as "England's Pioneer to India" and is honored with an entry in the Dictionary of National Biography,<sup>51</sup> something not done for Newbery nor many other prominent Elizabethans.

Nevertheless, for our purposes, Newbery is of great value, edited though his journal may be. With his keenly perceptive mind, and good-natured acceptance of many difficulties, he provides much important

1968), pp. 1-47, which includes Fitch's account of his travels. Some of Fitch's letters, as well as those of Newbery, Eldred and Shales, are also reprinted in J. Courtney Locke, ed., The First Englishmen in India (London: 1930).

<sup>48</sup>Fitch, "Relation," in Locke, ed., First Englishmen, p. 104, gives the year as 1585. On why 1584 is to be preferred, see Foster, England's Quest, pp. 96-97, n. 1.

<sup>49</sup>Fitch, "Relation," p. 104.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 149.

<sup>51</sup>See note 47 above.

information on the route through Armenia, especially concerning economic conditions along the way. Over and over, as will be shown below, he cites the going price of commodities or the "customs" levied by officials in settlement after settlement, and furnishes much additional information besides. His journey through Armenia, signalling as it does the beginning of English interest in lands east of the Levant, is thus justifiedly, I think, the terminus post quem of this work.

Nearly twenty years after Newbery's disappearance another Englishman traversed the overland route from Aleppo through Armenia and Persia to India. This was John Midnall, or Mildenhall,<sup>52</sup> and he passed through Armenia in 1600 in the company of another Englishman who left a more detailed account of this journey: John Cartwright, the travelling preacher.<sup>53</sup>

Unlike Cartwright, who seems to have been along mainly to see the sights, Midnall was intent on securing trading privileges in India, in anticipation of the arrival of the English trading expeditions of the soon to be created East India Company.<sup>54</sup> Since his two extant letters are rather brief and deal mainly with India, it seems unnecessary to devote too much space to Midnall, despite his crossing of Armenia.

He left Aleppo on 7 July 1600, "in companie with many other nations, as Armenians, Persians, Turkes, and divers others, to the number of sixe hundred people in our carravan, and onely of English Master John Cartwright,

---

<sup>52</sup>On Midnall, see Foster, England's Quest, pp. 173-182; and Foster, Early Travels, pp. 48-52. His two letters were first published by Purchas, "The Travels of John Mildenhall into the Indies," II, pp. 297-304, and were reprinted by Foster, Early Travels, pp. 52-59.

<sup>53</sup>The Preachers Travels (London: 1611). Cartwright will be discussed in his own right with other tourists.

<sup>54</sup>Foster, England's Quest, p. 174.

Preacher." Their route took them through Bir, Urfa, Diyarbekir [Caraemit], Bitlis [Bitelis] and Van, where he found the lake "navigable, and is in compasse nine dayes journey about, which I my selfe have rowed round about."<sup>55</sup> From Van the caravan proceeded to Naxiĵewan [Nacshian], Julfa [Chiulfal], and into Persia where, at Kashan [Cashan], "Master Cartwright departed from us and went to Spauhoan, the chiefe citie in Persia."<sup>56</sup> From Kashan, Midnall went to Lahor, in India, via Yazd and Kirman, arriving there sometime in 1603. By October, 1606, he was at Qazvin on his return to England, which was, however, still some two years away. After a few years at home in England and in Constantinople, where he had devised a scheme -- unsuccessful as it happened -- to reach Persia via the Black Sea to Trebizond and then overland through Georgia, Midnall once again set out for India from Aleppo. By the time he reached Ajmer, however, he had fallen ill; two months later, in June, 1614, he died. His body was taken to Agra and buried in the Catholic cemetery, where his tombstone still stood in good condition in the 1920's.<sup>57</sup> The only other point of immediate interest concerning Midnall is the fact that for four years of his first trip he had an Armenian interpreter ["drugman"] whom he had hired in Aleppo for "twentie duckets the moneth." Whether this Armenian knew English or, as is more likely, they communicated in some other European language such as Italian or French, is not known; his departure after a quarrel, due, Midnall

---

<sup>55</sup>Midnall, "Letter I," in Foster, Early Travels, p. 53.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 54. Cartwright says, pp. 38-49, that from Julfa they went north to Shamākhā and Derbend, then to Qazvin by way of Tabriz. Foster, England's Quest, p. 175, accepts this itinerary and suggests Midnall might have reasons of his own for suppressing that portion of the journey, perhaps due to a hope of reviving the route through Russia and over the Caspian to Persia.

<sup>57</sup>Foster, England's Quest, p. 182; idem, Early Travels, p. 51 [a photograph of the tombstone faces p. 50].

felt, to Jesuit instigation, forced Midnall to hire a Persian tutor to learn that language, which he accomplished "in sixe monethes space."<sup>58</sup>

Many years would pass before any other merchants would produce accounts of Armenia. When these accounts would appear they would be in French, and would be published at very nearly the same times: in 1673, 1676, and 1686.

The author of the first of these works to appear was André Daulier-Deslandes.<sup>59</sup> Born in Montoire in Vendôme, it appears that the dates of his birth and death have gone unrecorded, though he was probably still alive in 1705.<sup>60</sup> He went to Persia with Tavernier on that traveller's sixth voyage East, leaving Paris in November, 1663, and following the over-land route from Izmir [Smirne] through Tokat [Tocat], Erzurum [Arzerom], Erevan [Erivan], and Tabriz [Tauris]; they reached Isfahan [Hispanhan] in December, 1664. He seems to have been despatched by certain French merchants to look into the establishment of commercial relations; this potential competition caused agents of the French East India Company to regard his activities with disfavor. Denunciation and recrimination followed, and Daulier-Deslandes broke with Tavernier and left Persia to return to Europe

<sup>58</sup>Midnall, "Letter II," in Foster, Early Travels, p. 57.

<sup>59</sup>On Daulier-Deslandes, see BU, X, 167; NBC, XIII, 178; and Schefer, "Essay," pp. lxviii-lxxix. See also Schefer, "Appendix," for a letter from Daulier-Deslandes to his brother, dated 15 February 1665 from Isfahan. In it he indicates he is still planning to go to India and that M. [Jean de] Thevenot will go with them. He gives his address as "Monsieur Daulier, Secrétaire de la Compagnie Royale d'Occident," pp. 292-297.

<sup>60</sup>Niccolao Manucci, Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653-1708, William Irvine, ed. and trans., I (London: 1906-1908, repr. Calcutta: 1965), p. xxvii.

via the same route, at least as far as Tokat. From Tokat, he went to Constantinople and, after a brief stay there, proceeded to Izmir where he took ship for Marseille, which he reached on 6 April 1666.

Once back in France, Daulier-Deslandes was named Director of the Company's affairs at Bordeaux, but quit in 1668 apparently over personal-ity conflicts. His fame, such as it is, rests on his one work, Les Beautez de la Perse, which was published in 1673.<sup>61</sup> It is a brief volume, only some eighty pages in length, and mainly relates to Persia, but there are sections on Tiflis and the Georgians<sup>62</sup> and some information on the Armenians of Isfahan and its suburb, New Julfa<sup>63</sup> as well as references to them throughout. In addition, the illustrations are well executed and accurate, though not even the two standard biographical encyclopedias agree on the value of the work itself.<sup>64</sup> For our purposes, its usefulness is limited, since Daulier's passage through Armenia is dealt with in only a few sentences.

If Daulier-Deslandes is relatively unknown, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Baron d'Aubonne, is the complete opposite. Perhaps no individual so personifies the image of the seventeenth century traveller as does he. More has been and continues to be written about him<sup>65</sup> than about any other

<sup>61</sup>André Daulier-Deslandes, Les Beautez de la Perse (Paris: 1673); an English translation was made by Sir Arnold T. Wilson, The Beauties of Persia (London: 1926).

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., pp. 14-15/p. 10.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., pp. 48-50/pp. 26-27.

<sup>64</sup>See note 59 above.

<sup>65</sup>The main source for Tavernier is still Charles Joret, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Écuyer, Baron d'Aubonne, Chambellan du Grand Électeur, d'après des documents nouveaux et inédits (Paris: 1886). Other sources include BU, XLI, 91-92; NBG, XLIV, 935-937; EP, pp. 179-182; M. Haag, La France



traveller in this period. His works,<sup>66</sup> or portions thereof, have likewise been reprinted more frequently than any others. It thus seems unnecessary to repeat too much of what is generally available and commonly held knowledge. Tavernier was born in Paris, probably in 1605, of a Protestant family which had fled Antwerp in 1575. His father, Gabriel, was a merchant and geographer and it seems evident that Jean-Baptiste acquired his taste for travel -- and business -- from him. He himself writes that by the age

---

Protestante, IX (Paris: 1850), 345-346, as well as the introductions to various editions of Tavernier's travels, e.g. V. Ball's translation of his Travels in India, 2nd. edn. by William Crooke, I, pp. x-xxix; Voyages en Perse et description de se royaume, Pascal Pia, ed. (Paris: 1930), pp. vii-xi; and Voyages en Perse, Introduction by Vincent Monteil (Paris: 1970), pp. 7-17, all of which owe large debts to Joret. Schefer, "Essay," pp. lxx-lxxii, provides further insights, especially into the matter of Tavernier's "borrowing" of entire phrases copied from Raphael du Mans and Gabriel de Chinon (pp. lxxi-lxxii). Finally, there are many articles which deal with various facets of Tavernier and his travels; among these are Maurice Dumont, "Les voyages en Asie de J.-B. Tavernier 1605-89 et ses 'relations,'" Bulletin de la société royale belge de géographie, LX (1937), 46-61, 118-135, 194-210; Dr. E. T. Henry, "Une lettre inédite du voyageur J.-B. Tavernier (1664)," Journal asiatique, ser. 10, VII (March-April, 1906), 273-280; and R. Cambell Thompson, "Tavernier's Travels in Mesopotamia," The Scottish Geographical Magazine (March, 1910), 141-148.

<sup>66</sup>Tavernier's main work is, of course, his famous Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Ecuyer Baron d'Aubonne, en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes, 2 vols. (Paris: 1676). This work was translated by John Phillips as The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne; through Turkey, into Persia and the East-Indies, for the space of Forty Years (London: 1677). Such is the popularity of this work that V. Ball lists seventeen French editions between 1676 and 1882 in the extensive, though not exhaustive, bibliography in his edition of Tavernier's Travels in India, I, pp. x-lxiv. There are likewise several English editions as well as German, Dutch, and Italian translations. Tavernier is also the author of Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du Serrail du grand seigneur (Paris: 1675), translated into English as A New Relation of the Inner Part of the Grand Seigneur's Seraglio (London: 1677), and Recueil de plusieurs relations et traités singuliers et curieux de J. B. Tavernier Escuyer Baron d'Aubonne, qui n'ont point esté mis dans ses six premiers voyages (Paris: 1679), translated into English as A Collection of Several Relations and Treatises singular and curious of John Baptista Tavernier Baron of Aubonne not printed among his first six voyages (London: 1680), all of which have been reprinted many times. All references herein are to volume I of the 1676 first edition of Les six voyages, unless otherwise indicated.

of twenty-two, "I had seen the most beautiful regions of Europe -- France, England, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Hungary and Italy, and I spoke the languages which were the most necessary and had the most currency reasonably well."<sup>67</sup>

But his fame rests, deservedly, on the six voyages he made to the East Indies between 1630 and 1668. Of these six, the first (1630-1633), the fourth (1651-1656), the fifth (1657-1662), and the sixth (1663-1668), took him directly through Armenia, Isfahan being his immediate goal, and India the ultimate. Tavernier made profits early in his career and by the time he arrived back in Paris from his sixth voyage in December, 1668, he was wealthy and famous. He thereupon retired as Baron of Aubonne, spending some of the next few years preparing his great work. The quiet life was not for him, however: in 1684, perhaps partly due to the greatly increasing persecution of French Protestants which led to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes the following year, we find him called to Berlin by the Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm. Tavernier was asked to return to the East Indies, this time to establish a German commercial company along the lines of those of the English and Dutch. Though this project was never carried out, Tavernier's wanderlust had been aroused once more, and he decided to visit Moscow, a city he had never seen. Accordingly, he set out for Russia, where near Smolensk he died in February, 1689, at the age of 84.

Tavernier's *Voyages* is organized differently from most similar works and reflects its author's many trips to the East. Thus, instead of taking

---

<sup>67</sup>Tavernier, "Dessein de l'auteur," p. 7, "j'avois vû les plus belles regions de l'Europe, la France, l'Angleterre, les Pais bas, l'Allemagne, la Suisse, la Pologne, la Hongrie & l'Italie, & je parlois raisonnablement les langues qui sont les plus necessaires & qui y ont le plus de cours."

each voyage and its itinerary in turn, thereby leaving himself open to a good deal of repetition, he condenses his journeys and describes the various routes traversable in those days from Europe to Persia, interspersing his observations at the appropriate stage. For this reason, it is sometimes difficult to assign even approximate dates to many of his remarks. Nevertheless, he provides much useful and interesting information on Armenia and the Armenians, though this was by no means his major intention or interest. His work is especially useful in tracing the caravan routes through Armenia and Persia, as he lists nearly every stop along the way. He also provides a good deal of information on prices and duties, and he was attentive to an amazing variety of miscellaneous facts; he is, on the other hand, less than critical at times, and his observations tend to be superficial. Thus, while there is no question that his fame as a traveller is deserved, from the point of view of Armenia, his account is not quite as significant as Tournefort's or Chardin's.

Like Tavernier, Jean Chardin<sup>68</sup> stands out as one of the two or three

---

<sup>68</sup>While not as extensive as that on Tavernier, the biographical material is still considerable. See BU, VII, 506-507; NBG, IX, 715-719; DNB, IV, 63-64; EP, pp. 90-95; Haag, La France Protestante, III, 343-345; and Schefer, "Essay," pp. lxxix-lxxxv, as well as the Introduction by Brig. General Sir Percy Sykes to N. M. Penzer, ed., Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia, and that by L. Langlès in the first volume of his definitive edition of Chardin, Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient. Editions of Chardin have not appeared quite as frequently as those of Tavernier. The first edition was in both French and English versions, published in London in 1686: Journal du voyage du Chevr Chardin en Perse, & aux Indes, . . . Premiere partie, and The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East Indies. The First Volume. This was the only one of four projected volumes to appear at this time; the dedication was to King James II. In 1711, there was published a three volume edition in quarto and a ten volume duodecimo edition at Amsterdam, which omitted Chardin's comments on religion and his dedication to James II. These passages were again omitted in the next major edition of Chardin, Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient, 4 vols. (Amsterdam: 1735). The suppressed passages were restored in Langlès' 1811 edition cited above which is the one used hereina, unless otherwise

most renowned travellers of the seventeenth century, and, again like his famous contemporary, this reputation is entirely deserved. He was born in Paris in 1643, the son of a wealthy Huguenot jeweller of the Place Dauphine, and he took up his father's profession. In 1664, his father sent him on a voyage to Persia which lasted until 1670. While there, Shah Suleiman III made him his agent for purchasing jewels, and he began studying Persian. From this journey came Chardin's first work, an eye-witness account of the Shah's coronation.<sup>69</sup>

On 17 August 1671, just fifteen months after his return to Paris, Chardin was on his way to Persia again, "as well to perfect my self in the knowledge of the Languages, the Customs, the Religions, the Trades and the Sciences, the Commerce and History of the Oriental People, as to endeavour the advancement of my Fortunes and Estate."<sup>70</sup> He had also found acute religious problems in France and had encountered strong pressures to change either his religion or his profession. He was at Constantinople from March

---

noted. Selections from the sections on Persia, and an interesting introduction can also be found in Claude Gaudon's Edition of Chardin's Voyages en Perse (Paris: 1965); another excerpt is "Un festin arménien au XVIIe siècle," Revue des études arméniennes, n.s. III (1966), 380-386, and in many of the standard collections, such as Harris, Murray and Pinkerton (see Bibliography). For fuller bibliographical details see Langlès, I, v-x and N. M. Penzer, "Preface" to his 1927 edition, pp. v-vi. Finally, EP, p. 95, cites a Russian translation by I. Slivitskii, "Šarden i ego putešestvie po Gruzii" ["Chardin and his journey through Georgia"], Kavkaz, XXVIII-XXXV (1849).

<sup>69</sup>Jean Chardin, Le couronnement de Suleiman Troizieme Roy de Perse (Paris: 1671). An English translation is appended to the English edition of 1686, and to a 1691 reprint; the French text can be found in volumes IX and X of the Langlès edition of 1811.

<sup>70</sup>Chardin, I, pp. 1-2/1686 English edn., pp. 1-2, "tant pour étendre mes connoissances sur les langues, sur les moeurs, sur les religions, sur les arts, sur le commerce, et sur l'histoire des Orientaux, que pour travailler à l'établissement de ma fortune."

until July, 1672, when he was forced to flee as a dispute between the Grand Vizier and the French ambassador jeopardized the positions of all Frenchmen in the city. No caravans were scheduled to leave the city until October, due to the summer heat, so Chardin had to arrange passage on a ship going to Kaffa, where he arrived on 3 August,<sup>71</sup> after an eight-day voyage.

The rest of his journey took him from Kaffa to Mingrelia -- where he met and stayed with the Italian Theatin Father Giuseppe Maria Zampi<sup>72</sup> -- and through Georgia by way of Akhaltsikhe [Acalziké], Gori [Gory], Tiflis [Tifflis], Dilijan [Dilyjan], and Bĭni [Bichni], where he spent the night at the Armenian monastery. He arrived in Erevan [Irivan] on the evening of 7 March 1673. After a month there, Chardin set out again, travelling the usual route<sup>73</sup> via Naxiĭewan [Nacchivan], Marand, and Tabriz, by-passing Qazvin but passing through Qum and Kashan and finally reaching Isfahan on 24 June.

He spent the next four years in Persia, mainly in Isfahan, but at times following the court as it moved around the country and at other times indulging in various excursions, as to Persepolis, Qazvin and India. Finally, however, having made his fortune, it was time to return home, and embarking at Bandar 'Abbās, he sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and reached Europe sometime in 1677.

Four years later, owing to the same persecutions of Protestants that

<sup>71</sup>Chardin, I, pp. 26, 108-109, 116, 122.

<sup>72</sup>On Zampi see BU, XLIV, 373; EP, pp. 193-194; and Antonio Francesco Vezzosi, I scrittori de' chericì regolari detti teatini [hereafter Vezzosi, Scrit. teatini], II (Rome: 1780, repr. Westmead, England: 1966), pp. 487-488.

<sup>73</sup>The routes through Armenia will be studied in Chapter Three.

played a role in Tavernier's departure, Chardin left France and settled in London, where he was appointed court jeweller and knighted by Charles II. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1682 and in 1684 went to Holland as an agent to the East India Company. Soon thereafter he was back in London, spending much of his time on oriental studies. He died early in 1713; in the south aisle of Westminster Abbey, near the tomb of Sir Isaac Newton, there is a memorial tablet to him which reads "Sr. John Chardin -- nomen sibi fecit eundo."

Chardin's main interest was in things Persian, but he does not neglect Armenia. He provides considerable detail on Armenian traditions and customs in addition to his comments on the cities and countryside through which he passed. While not as extensive as Tournefort's treatment, Chardin's is generally more detailed and interesting than Tavernier's. In addition, Chardin is concerned with history and the motivations of individuals. In this respect, he appears as a more objective and careful scholar than most of our travellers, and his work is definitely of the utmost importance.

If one major inducement to submit one's self to the alternately dangerous and boring existence of the long-distance traveller was the profit motive, no less significant an attraction was the simple desire to see foreign lands, sometimes coupled with a strong urge to achieve fame as a result. There were many individuals who went East for this reason and they are aptly described as "Urbane Travellers."<sup>74</sup>

John Cartwright, whom we have already met through Midnall, was one of the earliest of these travellers to pass through Armenia. Unfortunately,

---

<sup>74</sup>This is Boies Penrose's phrase; see his Urbane Travellers, passim.

very little is known about him aside from what he himself tells us in his book.<sup>75</sup>

As we have seen, Cartwright and Midnall left Aleppo on 7 July 1600 and proceeded across the desert to Bir, and then up to Urfa and Diyarbekir [Caraemit]. They traversed Armenia by way of Bitlis [Bithlis], Van, and Julfa [Chiulfall]. Cartwright describes all of these places in some detail, a striking contrast to Midnall's mere mention of them. From Julfa, the accounts of their itineraries vary, but they finally separated at Kashan [Cassan]. Penrose speculates that the two Englishmen, unlike in so many ways, must have been getting on each other's nerves,<sup>76</sup> since, when he left Aleppo, Cartwright had "a full intent and purpose to traueell vnto the great City Lahor, in the great Mogors Countrey in the East Indies."<sup>77</sup>

However that may have been, Cartwright went on to Isfahan, which he describes at length. While there he also met and spent some time with Robert Sherley, then only twenty years old, who had been left in Persia as a combination hostage and drill-master for Shah 'Abbās by his elder brother Anthony. After a month or so in Isfahan, Cartwright prepared to return to England, "accompanied with one Signior Belchior Dios d'Croce, an Armenian, Portugall or Portugall Armenian; and one Christophero a Greeke, who were sent with letters from the gouernour of Goa, to the king of Spaine, but lost afterwards their liues and letters by shipwracke in the Venetian

---

<sup>75</sup>Cartwright, The Preacher's Travels; see n. 53 above. An edited version of these travels was published by Purchas, VIII (1905 edn.), 482-523. Information on Cartwright and his later involvement in the Weymouth Expedition mutiny in the Arctic is in Thomas Rundall, Narratives of Voyages towards the North West (London: 1849), pp. 64-71. For an interesting biography of Cartwright, see Penrose, pp. 40-57.

<sup>76</sup>Penrose, p. 45.

<sup>77</sup>Cartwright, p. 10.

Golfe."<sup>78</sup> The travellers went first to Shīrāz in order to visit Persepolis and then back to the northwest to see the ruins of Susa, afterwards adding Babylon and Nineveh to their list of visited antiquities. They soon arrived at Ana and continued on to Aleppo making the customarily forty day crossing of the desert in the very fast time of eighteen days. At this point, his book ends. Penrose suggests Cartwright was probably back in England by the summer of 1601.<sup>79</sup>

Soon thereafter he was off in quite another direction -- to the Arctic in search of the elusive Northwest Passage as chaplain of the expedition led by Captain George Weymouth, or Waymouth. This expedition left England in May, 1602, and by the middle of July the crew was mutinous, fearful of the safety of their lives and ship in the face of violent storms, dense fog, huge icebergs and thick pack ice. And chief among the mutineers seemed to be the ship's chaplain.

Whether Cartwright was in fact the ringleader, as was charged, is debatable. Certainly, he himself thought he was innocent, as his foreword to "Gentle Reader" clearly states. He does seem to have been faint-hearted at best; more sympathetically, some said he was just not foolhardy. Whatever, we lose track of him at this time, the last mention being the publication of his Travels, with the "Epistle Dedicatorie" dated 18 October 1611 from "mine House in Southwarke."

While Cartwright was attempting to clear his name, another Elizabethan was trying to make one. And he did . . . as a fool, "a really great fool, standing preëminent in his chosen field like Frederick the Great as a

---

<sup>78</sup>Cartwright, p. 79.

<sup>79</sup>Penrose, p. 49.



General or Sir Isaac Newton as a mathematician and natural philosopher."<sup>80</sup> This was Thomas Coryat,<sup>81</sup> the author of the famous Crudities,<sup>82</sup> who "once and for all disposes of and disproves the belief that a fool must needs be stupid and worthless."<sup>83</sup>

A fool Coryat may have been, but he was also a keen observer interested in everything around him. It is quite a misfortune that he died in India, weakened by his journeys and then plied with sack provided by some well-meaning English merchants at Surat,<sup>84</sup> before he was able to return to

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>81</sup>Coryat's biography has been written by Michael Strachan, The Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate (London: 1962). In addition see Penrose, pp. 58-108; Foster Early Travels, pp. 234-287, which includes his letters from India and other material; DNB, IV, 1184-1186; and Samuel C. Chew, The Crescent and the Rose (New York: 1937), pp. 37-39.

<sup>82</sup>Thomas Coryat, Coryat's Crudities, Hastily gobbled up in five Moneths travells in France, Savoy, Italy, etc. (London: 1611). The Crudities is, of course, Coryat's account of his five month tour of Europe -- almost entirely on foot and in one pair of shoes. So successful was this work that the author was induced to next issue Coryat's Crambe, or his Colwort twice sodden, And now served in with other Macaronicke dishes, as the second Course to his Crudities (London: 1611). Coryat later sent a journal from Aleppo, which Purchas severely edited, X, 389-447, and which was subsequently lost. In that work he detailed his journey to Constantinople and the Levant. Only five letters record his walk to India; the first four were published separately in a pamphlet entitled Thomas Coriate, Traueller for the English Vvits: Greetings From the Court of the Great Mogul (London: 1616); large portions were published by Purchas, IV, 469-494. The great majority of material relating to Coryat was reprinted in the second edition: Coryat's Crudities; Reprinted from the Edition of 1611, 3 vols. (London: 1776). In the third edition: Coryat's Crudities, 2 vols. (Glasgow: 1905), only the 1611 edition was reprinted. Finally, Coryat's letters from India are most accessible in Foster, Early Travels, pp. 241-287. For a complete annotated bibliography see Strachan, pp. 292-303.

<sup>83</sup>Penrose, p. 58.

<sup>84</sup>This was in December, 1617, and Coryat was only forty or so. See Edward Terry, A Voyage to East India (London: 1655), pp. 58-78; the section concerning Coryat is reprinted in the 1776 edition of the Crudities, III, sigs. Dd7r-Ff2v and in part by Foster, Early Travels, pp. 282-287; a later chapter is on Terry himself, pp. 288-332. The English merchant, John Fryer, who was in Surat early in 1675, claims to have seen where, "on a

England and give the world another example of his unique pen.

This "Peregrine of Odcombe" or "Odcombian Legge-stretcher", as he styled himself in the various prefatory notes of the Crudities, comes to our attention only briefly, however, even though he is the most interesting and individual traveller of them all. In his own day familiar with Ben Jonson, John Donne, Inigo Jones, and others of the Mermaid Tavern group, he planned to walk to India, mostly to see it and to ride an elephant, but of course to seek fame as well. He was at Aleppo in 1614, setting out from there in September. His route took him to Urfa and Diyarbekir [Diarbeck] where he "was robbed of my money, both golden and silver (but not all, by reason of certaine clandestine corners where it was placed), . . . by a Spahee. . . . Notwithstanding that losse, I am not destitute of money, I thanke God."<sup>85</sup>

From there he waded across the Tigris, as it was "so shallow that it

---

small Hill on the left hand of the Road, lies Tom Coriat, our English Fakier (as they name him), together with an Armenian Christian, known by their Graves lying East and West: He was so confident of his Perfection in the Indostan Tongue, that he ventured to play the Orator in it before the Great Mogul. In his return from him he was killed with Kindness by the English Merchants, which laid his rambling Brains at Rest." See his A New Account of East-India and Persia (London: 1698), p. 100. This work was reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, A New Account of East India and Persia, being Nine Years' Travels, 1672-1681, William Crooke, ed., 3 vols. (London: 1909-1915). The passage on Coryat is in I, pp. 252-253. For a long discussion of the Armenians of Isfahan see "Letter V, chapter VI," pp. 265-286/II, pp. 252-293. The "Introduction" by Crooke, I, pp. xi-xxxviii, includes a good biography of Fryer. Coryat's tomb has long since disappeared, and there is some question as to whether it was really at Surat or at that town's seaport at Swally. See Strachan, pp. 266-268.

<sup>85</sup>Coryat, "Letter I," in Foster, Early Travels, p. 250. Coryat was extremely frugal: in the ten months he travelled between Aleppo and India he spent "but three pounds sterling, yet fared reasonable well everie daie; victuals beeing so cheape in some countries where I travelled, that I oftentimes lived competetile for a pennie sterling a day. Yet of that three pound I was cousened of no less than ten shillings sterling by certaine lewd Christian of the Armenian nation; so that indeed I spent but fiftie shillings in my ten moneths travailes." Ibid., p. 248.

reached no higher than the calves of my legs,"<sup>86</sup> into Armenia. He next mentions Tabriz so that it is likely he proceeded there by way of Bitlis and Van, perhaps seeing Ararat in the distance.<sup>87</sup> Next came Qazvin and Isfahan where he waited two months for a caravan bound for the East. Crossing into India he met Robert Sherley's caravan coming back from there and was pleased to find Sherley and his wife in possession of both of his books; Lady Sherley gave him forty shillings to help him along.

So Coryat finally reached India, and even rode on his elephant. He is mentioned here not only because he did pass through Armenia, nor because he intended to return to Aleppo "by the way of Babylon and Ninivy, and the mountain Ararat, where Noah's ark rested,"<sup>88</sup> though these facts do qualify him for inclusion. Rather, he is included mainly because he is unique in the annals of travel and is much maligned in addition. This is my small contribution toward the day when such unwarranted remarks as the following will no longer appear: "But fortunately Coryat formed a class by himself and his record at complacent vanity and foolish fanaticism remains unbeaten."<sup>89</sup>

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 242.

<sup>87</sup>Edward Terry, "Extracts relating to Thomas Coryate, from the Voyage of the Rev. Edward Terry," in Coryat's Crudities; Reprinted from the Edition of 1611, III, sig. Ee4v, "they proceeded through both the Armeniæ, and either did, or else our traveller was made to believe that he saw the very mountain Ararat whereon the Ark of Noah rested after the flood, Gen. 8." For a discussion of Coryat's eastward itinerary and Terry's perpetual confusion see Strachan, pp. 212-227, especially p. 217.

<sup>88</sup>Coryat, "Letter IV: To his Loving Mother," in Foster, Early Travels, p. 260.

<sup>89</sup>Surendranath Sen, ed., Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri (New Delhi: 1949), p. xlii. This evaluation is based on incidents such as when Coryat, tired of hearing the muezzins' calls to prayer in Agra, himself entered the minaret and, altering the traditional cry, called out: "La Alla, illa Alla, Hazaret-Eesa Ebn-Alla, No God but one God, and Christ the Sonne

Nations other than England are also represented by travellers out to see the world for its own sake. From France came François Le Gouz, Sieur de La Boullaye, alternately referred to as La Boullaye-Le-Gouz, Le Gouz de La Boullaye, Le Gouz, or Gouz.<sup>90</sup> He was born in 1623<sup>91</sup> near Baugé in Anjou into a family which was originally from England. This heritage no doubt helps to explain why in 1643 he went to England to offer his services to Charles I. Later, he toured England and Ireland, then returned to Paris in October, 1644, after touring part of Europe.

This journey only whetted his appetite for travel, and, within a month of his return, he was off again on the journey which made him famous.<sup>92</sup>

We pick him up in Constantinople ready to leave that city on 1 September 1647,<sup>93</sup> already friendly with an Armenian merchant named Minas.

of God; and further added, that Muhamet was an Imposter, which bold attempt in many other places of Asia, where Mahomet is more zealously professed, had forfeited his life with as much torture as Tyrannie could invent." (Edward Terry in Purchas, IX, p. 37.) While the act is uniquely characteristic of the uninhibited Coryat, it does not, it seems to me, reflect any fanaticism beyond that which was common to both East and West at that time.

<sup>90</sup>On La Boullaye, as he shall be referred to herein, see Gaston Moreau, Le Gouz de la Boullaie (Baugé: 1956); H. Castonnet des Fosses, "La Boullaye Le Gouz: Sa vie et ses voyages," Revue de l'Anjou, n.s. XXII (May-June, 1891), 301-313; XXIII (July-August, 1891), 45-57; (September-October, 1891), 183-197; (November-December, 1891), 339-352, reprinted separately with the same title at Angers, 1891; T. Crofton Croker, ed. and trans., The Tour of the French Traveller M. de La Boullaye Le Gouz in Ireland, A.D. 1644. (London: 1837); Schefer, "Essay," pp. 1-iv, lxxii-lxxiv; Clarence Dana Rouillard, The Turk in French History, pp. 261-263; BU, XVII, 275-276; NBG, XXX, 414-417; and EP, pp. 120-121.

<sup>91</sup>Castonnet des Fosses, p. 301, BU, and NBG, loc. cit., maintain the year 1610; see Moreau, p. 19, for his reasons on accepting 1623.

<sup>92</sup>François de La Boullaye Le Gouz, Les Voyages et Observations du Sieur de La Boullaye-Le-Gouz, Gentilhomme Angevin (Paris: 1653). A second, slightly augmented, edition appeared in 1657. All references herein are to the 1653 edition unless otherwise noted. Schefer, "Appendix," pp. 291-321, includes several letters from La Boullaye's second journey.

<sup>93</sup>Castonnet des Fosses, "La Boullaye Le Gouz," Revue de l'Anjou, XXIII,

Their caravan followed the usual route through Tosya [Tossia], Amasia, Tokat [Tohat, or Tokcat], and Erzurum, which they reached on 17 October. After two weeks there, they left Erzurum on 31 October in very bad weather, which came as no surprise to La Boullaye, as he remarks: "I have had this misfortune in my travels to have travelled in cold lands in the Winter and in the East Indies and Arabia Deserta in the Summer."<sup>94</sup> By this time, La Boullaye was dressing in Turkish garb, going by the name of Ibrahim Beg, and feigning dumbness in order not to be known as a "Frank" so as to avoid higher levies and possibly being taken as a spy.<sup>95</sup>

On the third of November the caravan reached Hassankale [Hassan-Kale] and eight days later entered E<sup>Y</sup>miacin [Vvche Kilisa], remaining there two days. On the thirteenth they made the four-hour journey to Erevan [Erian], and, after staying there until the nineteenth, they continued on the usual route through Naxi<sup>Y</sup>ewan [Naxchiuan] and Marand [Marante], arriving in Tabriz on 29 November. By 23 January 1648 he was in Isfahan.

The remainder of his journey took him to India via Bandar 'Abbās. He

---

55, says La Boullaye left Constantinople in 1645 and was in India by April, 1646. This chronology is incorrect, however, as Père Alexandre de Rhodes, S.J., met him on the road between Lār and Isfahan in early April, 1648. De Rhodes described him as "a gentleman from Poitou called Monsieur de la Boulaye who only a few months ago published a very fine book about his travels where he related with equal accuracy and clarity the experiences he met with in kingdoms so different. He crossed the greater part of Europe, Asia, and Africa. He found himself among Turks, Arabs, Persians, Armenians, Indians, and other nationalities the most barbarous in the world. He was everywhere possessed of such prudence and virtue he preserved his religion and his conscience inviolate, nevertheless winning the hearts of all and proving that a good Christian and a good Frenchman can circle the globe without making an enemy" [p. 424/p. 221]. De Rhodes was much more specific about his dates than La Boullaye who seldom mentioned the year, though he did often give the month and day.

<sup>94</sup>La Boullaye, p. 71, "i'ay eu cette fatalité dans mes voyages que iay cheminé l'Hyuer dans les pays frois, & l'Esté dans les Indes Orientales, & Arabie deserte."

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., pp. 69-70.

was there for nearly a year, from 23 April 1648 to 1 March 1649, when he embarked for Europe. His companions on his return trip by way of Basra and Baghdad included "a Katri merchant of Bengal, two janissaries . . . from Baghdad, a Tibetan dervish, three Nestorian merchants from Nineveh and a renegade Greek,"<sup>96</sup> attesting once again to the cosmopolitanism of seventeenth century international travel. From Baghdad, he went in a larger caravan to Mosul [Niniue, or Moussol], Mardin, Diyarbekir, and Bir before reaching Aleppo; from there he visited much of Syria and Egypt prior to returning to Europe and home to Baugé, which he seems to have reached in May, 1650.

La Boullaye remained in France for many years; shortly after his return and dressed in his Eastern clothes, he had an audience with Louis XIV, then still in his teens, whose urging led him to publish his Voyages. Finally, in 1664, the moribund French East India Company gained concessions from the King and planned to send a mission to Persia and the Indies. The company selected three agents to represent it -- Beber, Mariage, and Dupont; the King sent two representatives: Lalain and La Boullaye, whose knowledge of the East, it was thought, would be invaluable.<sup>97</sup>

The group left Paris in October, 1664, and went by sea from Marseille to Izmir and thence by caravan through Armenia following La Boullaye's route of years before. They reached Isfahan on 11 July 1665.<sup>98</sup> Much of

---

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., p. 289, "vn Katri marchand de Bangala; deux Jaunissaires . . . de Bagdat, un Deruiche du Thebet, trois marchands Nestoriens de Niniue, & vn renegat Grec."

<sup>97</sup>Schefer, "Essay," pp. xlvii-1; Tavernier, Recueil de plusieurs Relations et Traitez, pp. 54-125, discussed this episode in the chapter entitled "Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la Negociation des Deputez qui ont esté en Perse & aux Indes, tant de la part du Roy, que de la Compagnie Française, pour l'establissement du Commerce."

<sup>98</sup>Schefer, "Appendix," Letters, XVI, XVII, XVIII, and XX-XXXVI, pp. 290-292, 297-321, detail the outward journey and subsequent events of this mission.

their time in Persia was spent amidst mutual squabbles and recriminations with the Capucin Père Raphael du Mans, a long time resident of Isfahan and translator to the Shah, trying to act as an arbiter. Finally, four of them set out for India, Lalain and Dupont dying near Bandar 'Abbās and Shīrāz respectively. La Boullaye and Beber reached Surat in April, 1666.

At this point the story becomes unclear, and all that is sure is that La Boullaye died, probably in 1668, before returning to Europe. Some accounts have him succumbing to a high fever back in Persia and being given a magnificent funeral by the Shah,<sup>99</sup> while others have him disappearing on the road between Persia and India, assassinated by guards covetous of the "treasure" in his packs.<sup>100</sup>

Just as much disagreement surrounds the evaluation of his work: Schefer says neither it nor Pouillet's -- whom we shall consider next -- contain anything worthy of notice and that, in addition, La Boullaye's is written without method and in a mediocre style.<sup>101</sup> On the other hand, Geoffrey Atkinson, who did much research on the influence of books of travel on French literature, feels La Boullaye was "a worldly, cautious sort of traveler, of the general type . . . as Tavernier or Bernier."<sup>102</sup>

<sup>99</sup>Moreau, p. 21; BU and NBG, loc. cit.

<sup>100</sup>Tavernier, Recueil, p. 122; Castonnet des Fosses, p. 352; Schefer, "Essay," p. liv; and Sir R. C. Temple, ed., "The Travels of Richard Bell (and John Campbell) in the East Indies, Persia, and Palestine, 1654-1670," The Indian Antiquary XXXVI (1907), p. 100, n. 96. The "treasure" was probably a box of books.

<sup>101</sup>Schefer, "Essay," pp. lxxii-lxxiii.

<sup>102</sup>Geoffrey Atkinson, The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700 (New York: 1920), p. 9.

On the whole, Atkinson's is the more valid evaluation, at least insofar as La Boullaye's narrative relates to this study. He is especially important because he travels through Armenia at the beginning of the "boom" in western travellers which peaks in the 1660's, and we shall see many instances where La Boullaye's attitudes and observations are an indicator of developing trends. As such, his name will appear frequently as we proceed.

The Sieur Pouillet,<sup>103</sup> a traveller known to us only through his book,<sup>104</sup> was another Frenchman out mostly to see the world. There is conjecture, however, that he may have been on some sort of political or military mission, though there seems to be no supporting evidence.<sup>105</sup>

On the whole, Schefer's opinion cited above is probably more accurate toward Pouillet's work, and is echoed in the biographical dictionaries. Thus, "it is one of the most insignificant [works] published on the countries in question," or "very little is thought of this work. The author had seen much, but observed little."<sup>106</sup> Nevertheless, unlike Persia, with scores of travel accounts available even in the seventeenth century, one needs every account of Armenia possible, and Pouillet's is not really as deficient as the quotations indicate. He notes many interesting though seemingly trivial details and mentions a number of individuals, especially

---

<sup>103</sup>Very little is known about Pouillet. For what there is, see Schefer, "Essay," pp. lxxiv-lxxv; BU, XXXIV, 220; NBG, XL, 926; and EP, p. 165.

<sup>104</sup>Le Sieur Pouillet, Nouvelles Relations du Levant, 2 vols. (Paris: 1667-1668). The second volume is sub-titled Exacte description de l'Asie Mineure ou Natolie, des deux Arménies, du Courdistan, du Diarbek et autres provinces mediterranees de l'Asie et du royaume de Perse.

<sup>105</sup>BU, loc. cit.

<sup>106</sup>BU and NBG, loc. cit.



missionaries, in more detail than is usual. His major drawback is a decided tendency toward exaggeration and overstatement, which necessitates a degree of care in using his work.

Poullet tells us it took from mid-March to mid-August to make the overland journey from Izmir to Erevan [Herivan].<sup>107</sup> The year in question is known only through the letter he cites from Père Raphael du Mans, wherein that cleric indicates that Poullet left Isfahan early in December, 1659.<sup>108</sup> This chronology conforms closely enough as Poullet also tells us he was in Isfahan for more than three months.<sup>109</sup> Since it usually took something like three weeks to travel from Erevan to the Safavid capital, we can see that there is a discrepancy of only a few days, an insignificant difference. His return took him by way of Tabriz, Marand, Xoy [Coi], and Xoşap [Cochab] to Van in severe winter weather. The remainder of the journey followed the customary route through Tatvan [Tatouan], Bitlis [Betlis] -- travelling at night to take advantage of the firmer snow -- and Diyarbekir [Dierbeq], where the small party remained for a month. Leaving Diyarbekir, they proceeded to the Levantine coast, from where Poullet toured Palestine and Egypt before shipping out to Marseille, which he probably reached sometime in 1661. Because of his "mortal aversion" to returning to Paris, he went on to Rome where he seems to have remained for most of the rest of his life.

The last Frenchman to come before us spent most of his life in travel. Paul Lucas<sup>110</sup> was born at Rouen in 1664 and, while on a journey through

---

<sup>107</sup>Poullet, II, p. 37.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., pp. 338-339.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., p. 330.

<sup>110</sup>On Lucas see the notices in BU, XXV, 407-408; and NBG, XXXII, 122-124, which are the sources for the biographical information contained

Spain, died in Madrid in 1737. By his early twenties he had already engaged in considerable travel, first at the behest of his merchant father, then carrying arms to Venetian troops at the siege of Negreponte in 1688. On all of these travels, he showed an intense interest in the antiquities of all sorts -- sculpture, medals, manuscripts, etc. -- which he brought back to France and presented to Louis XIV. The two later voyages about which he published accounts were just such enterprises, undertaken to add additional antiquities to the collection of Louis and France.

Of Lucas' three published accounts, the most important is that of his first voyage, during which he passed directly through Armenia. After leaving Paris in June, 1699, and touring Egypt, Lucas went on to Syria, leaving Aleppo on 20 August 1700 in a large caravan bound for Tabriz. Interestingly the usual trans-desert route was eschewed as the caravan went north to Malatya and then through many Armenian villages to Erzurum [Arzeron], which was reached on 19 September. From there the customary route was followed by way of Hassankale [Assangala], Horasan [Corasan], and Kars [Carres], where the caravan arrived on 12 October, after a journey of seven days from Erzurum. Between Aleppo and Kars, Lucas notes, there were twice as many Christians as Turks.<sup>111</sup> By the fifteenth, Lucas had reached Ejmiacin [Esmiasim], and on the seventeenth he and the caravan made the three

---

herein. Lucas published accounts of three separate voyages to the East: Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant, 2 vols. (Paris: 1704), of which a second revised edition, two volumes in one, was issued at Paris in 1714; Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait par ordre du Roy dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure, la Macedonie et l'Afrique, 2 vols. (Paris: 1712); and Troisième Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait en MDCCXIV, &c. par ordre de Louis XIV dans la Turquie, l'Asie, la Sourie, la Palestine, la Haute et la Basse Egypte, &c., 3 vols. (Rouen: 1719). The accounts of all three voyages have subsequently been reprinted. All references in this study are to the 1714 edition of Lucas' first Voyage au Levant.

<sup>111</sup>Lucas, I, pp. 241-242.

hour journey to Erevan [Erivan], where they remained until 25 October.

Leaving Erevan, the caravan proceeded by way of the village of Xor Virap where, in a great church, was the "pit" into which St. Grigor was cast. Lucas claims to have descended into it and heard the story of King Trdat turned into a beast, which is associated with the traditional account of the Christianization of Armenia.<sup>112</sup> Continuing on, the twenty-ninth was spent at the large Armenian town of Astapat [Aslapat] which had two churches, and where the women were beautiful enough to often be taken into the seraglios of the Shahs of Persia. Naxijewan [Nacchivan] was bypassed in order to avoid the insults usually rendered to Franks passing through there, and Julfa was reached on the thirtieth. There the merchants abandoned their mules for camels "so as not to pay so much customs at Marand."<sup>113</sup> Finally, on 4 November, the caravan reached Tabriz, where Lucas lodged with the Capuchin fathers until 12 December, when he joined another caravan bound for Isfahan. This section of the journey was accomplished in five weeks, Lucas finally reaching Isfahan [Hispaham] on 20 January 1701.

Lucas stayed in Isfahan until July, then set out for Europe by way of Hamadân, Baghdad, Diyarbekir and Urfa, reaching Aleppo in early November. From there he spent two months on Cyprus and then a year in Constantinople before finally returning to Paris in July, 1703.

Fifteen months later, in October, 1704, Lucas was off again on another mission for Louis XIV. Because his departure from Marseille was delayed until early January, 1705, Lucas did not reach his first objective, Constantinople, until mid-February. After five months in that city, Lucas

---

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., II, pp. 261-263.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., p. 267, "pour ne pas payer à Marante tant de Doüanne."

set out on a seven month tour of Asia Minor. The remainder of his travels took him to Greece, the Holy Land, Egypt and North Africa, before he returned to Paris in the summer of 1708.

This second voyage is at least as interesting as the first, especially since there are very few accounts of the Anatolian interior at this time. Only passing mention will be made of it, however, as our primary area of concern must remain Armenia itself.

Lucas' third voyage, which lasted from May, 1714 to October, 1717, took him back to Constantinople, Macedonia and Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. The account of it has no use for our purposes. It is thus Lucas' first voyage which is important for us, and, as we shall see, he was an interesting (and interested) traveller whose work is quite useful. The material he provides is usually found elsewhere, but we need such repetitions if we are to show the emergences of images over time.

Our next traveller was a very young man when he passed through Armenia and is also the first Italian to come before us. Niccolao Manucci<sup>114</sup> tells us he ran away from his home in Venice at the age of fourteen, in 1651. In fact, it is felt that the early sections of his account (up to 1678) have a constant error of two years<sup>115</sup> so that the year was really 1653. In any case, Manucci stowed away on an Izmir-bound ship and was discovered by Henry Bard, Viscount Bellomont, on his way to Persia and

---

<sup>114</sup>On Manucci see the brief notice in *NBC*, XXXIII, 287; and the much more detailed and useful "Introduction" by William Irvine, in his edition of *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. xvii-lxxxvii, especially pp. liv-lxiv. This is the first complete publication of Manucci's work in any language, only excerpts having previously appeared. Again see Irvine's excellent "Introduction" for full bibliographical particulars.

<sup>115</sup>Manucci, I, p. 39, refers to his presence at an eclipse while passing through Julfa on the way to Isfahan. This eclipse has been dated to 12 August 1654 [*Ibid.*, n. 5] and is one of two or three external proofs Irvine uses in determining this chronological defect. See pp. lv-lvi for the full discussion of the problem.

India.<sup>116</sup> Bellomont took the young Manucci into his service, and it was with him that he travelled across Anatolia and Armenia, via the usual route, to Persia, reaching Isfahan in September, 1654. After a year in Persia, they proceeded to India, where Manucci spent the rest of his long life, until his death circa 1717.

His primary importance is thus for Indian matters, and of the four large volumes of this English translation only the first fifty-seven pages of Volume One relate to his outward journey through Armenia and Persia. His observations serve mainly to reinforce those of other travellers and are not of the greatest value for this work, both because of their brevity in the section on Armenia, and because the work was composed nearly fifty years after its author passed through there.

Another Italian travelled through Armenia some forty years after Manucci and left a much more important and interesting account of his journey. This individual was Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri,<sup>117</sup> who was traversing Armenia on a journey around the world.

Gemelli was a lawyer, born in Calabria in 1651, who though very successful in his chosen profession, was unable to abide his family. For

<sup>116</sup>On this episode see Laurence Lockhart, "The Diplomatic Missions of Henry Bard, Viscount Bellomont, to Persia and India," *Iran*, IV (1966), 97-104.

<sup>117</sup>On Gemelli-Careri, see *BU*, XVI, 131-134; *NBC*, XIX, 845-846; *EP*, p. 114; and Sen, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, pp. xx-xxvii *et passim*. The account of his travels was published in six volumes in Naples, 1699-1700, as *Giro del Mondo*, and reprinted several times. The six volume edition of Naples, 1721, is the one used herein, in conjunction with the English translation, "A Voyage round the World, in Six Parts," in [Awnsham and John] Churchill, comps., *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, IV (London: 1732), pp. 1-572. His European travels can be found in Churchill, VI, pp. 43-142. The section of his travels relating to the Philippines, edited by Mauro Garcia, was published under the title of *A Voyage to the Philippines* (Manila: 1967) as an appendix to the similar account of the Portuguese Augustinian, Sebastian Manrique.

this reason he made his first tour through Europe between 1685 and 1689, at which time he returned to his home in Naples. The family difficulties had not been overcome, however, and five years later, he set out on his around-the-world journey, departing from Naples on 13 June 1693; he would not return for five and a half years.

Gemelli first spent several months in Egypt and Palestine before travelling to Constantinople in January, 1694. After one or two incidents in Izmir where he had come to await a caravan, he returned to Constantinople and finally shipped out for the East on Easter Sunday, 11 April, on a vessel bound for Trebizond. That city was reached in ten days' time, after which Gemelli joined a caravan bound for Isfahan over the customary route through Armenia. Among Gemelli's companions was the Jesuit missionary Jacques Villotte, whose memoirs are an even more important source for this period. Isfahan, where Gemelli stayed for two months, was reached on 7 July; from there he travelled the busy route by way of Shirāz and Lār to the Persian Gulf and left for India at the end of November. The remainder of his circumnavigation took him from India to China, the Philippines, across the Pacific to Mexico and then to Europe, where he at last returned to Naples on 3 December 1699.

As he travelled, Gemelli noted natural features, local prices, the treatment accorded travellers, the character of missionaries, Ottoman officials, and other prominent individuals he encountered as well as the veracity of previous accounts compared to what he himself saw (though he frequently copies Tavernier, as we shall see). Still, he is in many ways the ideal traveller, even if he sometimes displays attitudes of superiority and pompousness that border on bigotry, and one can only be sorry that he passed through Armenia in the relatively fast time of two months.

A much more fanciful account of Armenia has been left to us by our only Dutch traveller, Jan Janszoon Struys.<sup>118</sup> Struys, who died in 1694, was essentially an adventurer who made a number of voyages to various parts of the world between 1647 and 1673. Like Manucci, he ran away from home as a youth, in this case in 1647 at age seventeen, due to the strictness of his father. He went first to Genoa, where he shipped out on a voyage which would take him to Africa and the Far East, returning to Holland in September, 1651. Four years later he left again for Italy and the eastern Mediterranean until he returned home once more in July, 1657. Shortly thereafter he married and found himself unable to get away for the next ten years, during which time his fortunes scarcely prospered. In 1668, however, he "came to understand that some Gentlemen were sent from the Czar of Moscovy to Amsterdam, to take on men into the service of the Emperour, for equipping some Ships in the Caspian Sea, and so to promote the Trade between Moscovia and Persia,"<sup>119</sup> and by September he and eighteen others were on their way to Russia.

The party reached Moscow in December and spent the winter there. In early May, 1669, they departed for Astrakhan which they reached in late

---

<sup>118</sup>On Struys see BU, XL, 342-343; and EP, pp. 177-179, both of which depend heavily on Struys' work, originally written in Dutch as Drie aanmerkelijke en seer rampspoedige Reysen, door Italien, Griekenlandt, Lijf-landt, Moscovien, Tartarijen, Meden, Persien, Oost-Indien, Japan, en verscheyden andere Gewesten (Amsterdam: 1676). It was translated into French as Les Voyages de Jean Struys, en Moscovie, en Tartarie, en Perse, aux Indes, & en plusieurs autres pais etrangers, M. Glanius, trans. (Amsterdam: 1681), and into English as The Voiages and Travels of John Struys through Italy, Greece, Muscovy, Tartary, Media, Persia, East-India, Japan, and other Countries in Europe, Africa and Asia, John Morrison, trans. (London: 1684). All references to Struys are based on the English translation, which seems to be more complete than the French. See also Schefer, "Essay," pp. lxxxviii-lxxxix, and Francesca Wilson, ed., Muscovy, pp. 84-94.

<sup>119</sup>Struys, pp. 114-115.

August and where they remained until June, 1670. Their departure from Astrakhan was prompted largely because of the rebellion of Stenka Razin then raging in that city. Setting sail on 12 June, they were fifteen leagues from Derbend when a great storm ran them aground on the twentieth. Fortunately, there was no loss of life or cargo. However, several of the party, Struys included, were promptly captured by Tatars ("Osmin tartars") and tortured to reveal the whereabouts of the rest of the crew. Struys was then sent into bondage as a slave to one Mehemet Sultan, the son of Prince Osmin, "whose residing place was near mount Ararath,"<sup>120</sup> in the vicinity of Erevan [Urwan, or Ervan]. It was at this point that we met Struys earlier, when he was promised his freedom if he would ascend Ararat to cure a hernia. Unhappily, Struys was deceived and, instead of liberation, he was sold to a certain "Hadgy Mahomet" for twenty five abasis, equal then to thirty shillings sterling; this was, he adds, much less than the going rate for slaves in Barbary.<sup>121</sup> He was then sent from Armenia to Derbend and spent a considerable time there and in Shamākhā, until he was at last able to secure his freedom in October, 1671. He immediately set out for Isfahan, hoping to find a way home from there; he did, of course, but not before experiencing a great many more adventures in Persia and Batavia where he was forced to go to get a European passage. Finally, however, he arrived back home in October, 1673, having experienced a series of most exciting and adventure-filled voyages extraordinary even for those times.

Oddly, it is perhaps this very fact that makes one skeptical of his

---

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid., p. 221.



account. Struys is given to exaggeration and credulity, as when he claims to have seen Ararat "mounting his head far above the Caucasus," from his ship on the Caspian near Derbend,<sup>122</sup> or when he tells us that the middle reaches of Ararat were more intemperate than the upper, where the hernia stricken hermit had lived for twenty-five years, "the Weather being there so moderate and gentle as man can imagine, or heart can wish."<sup>123</sup> Even his contemporaries found it necessary to express doubts about Struys' observations. One Jesuit who was in Armenia in 1686, while searching for a safe overland route to China, refers to Struys' "fabulous voyage."<sup>124</sup> Gemelli-Careri also describes this account as fabulous, and goes on at some length to show why.<sup>125</sup> Even so, one can usually allow for these exaggerations and glean useful information from, for example, his physical description of Ararat.

One last and very important group of travellers remains to be examined -- those members of religious orders who went to foreign lands for years at a time, often never to return to Europe and home. I have located fourteen missionaries who have left some sort of published record produced as a result of travel in Armenia, although in some instances these accounts are not travel books as such, but rather grammars, histories, scientific works and the like.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., p. 207.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p. 215.

<sup>124</sup>Philippe Avril, S.J., Voyage en divers États d'Europe et d'Asie, entrepris pour découvrir un nouveau chemin à la Chine (Paris: 1692), pp. 69-70; this work was translated into English as Travels into divers Parts of Europe and Asia, Undertaken by The French King's order to discover a new Way by Land into China (London: 1693), pp. 62-63.

<sup>125</sup>Gemelli-Careri, II, p. 15/pp. 106-107.

No less than ten of the fourteen priests in this group were Jesuits. Arranged according to their earliest appearance in Armenia, they are:

François Rigordi (1645)	Jacques Villotte (1689)
Alexandre de Rhodes (1648)	Léonard Mosnier, or Monier (1690's)
Johann Grueber (1663)	Pierre René Ricard (1697)
Jean-Baptiste de la Maze (1664)	Claude de Bèze (1698)
Philippe Avril (1685)	Franz Caspar Schilling (1699)

Three of these Jesuits — Rhodes, Avril and Villotte — produced accounts of greater value and will be discussed in more detail. The accounts of the remaining seven, while all more or less interesting, are less significant; a brief bio-bibliographical survey should suffice for these seven.<sup>126</sup>

François Rigordi (1609-1679) was the founder of the Jesuit mission in Persia.<sup>127</sup> He seems to have passed through Armenia in 1645 and left

<sup>126</sup>Two important reference works dealing with the Jesuits are Augustin De Backer, S.J., Aloys De Backer, S.J., and August Carayon, S.J., eds., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* [hereafter *BCJ*], new edn. by Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., et al., 12 vols. (Brussels and Paris: 1890-1960) and Augustin De Backer, S.J., Aloys De Backer, S.J., and Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., eds., *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* [hereafter *BECJ*], new edn., 3 vols. (Liège & Paris: 1869-1876). Much of the subsequent information is taken from them; one must be wary of their frequent errors and misprints, however.

<sup>127</sup>*BCJ*, VI, 1853-1854; *BECJ*, III, 206-207; 2449; and Lockhart, *Fall*, p. 429. It is uncertain whether Rigordi did in fact traverse Armenia. Both *BCJ* and *BECJ* state that he "parcourut l'Arménie" before being forced to return to Marseille due to illness in 1646, and that he subsequently made a second journey through Persia to India. The title of his work indicates otherwise, however: *Peregrinationes apostolicae R. P. Francisci Rigordi, . . . qui XII novembris anni MDCXLIII Massilia solvens, per mare Mediterraneum, per Syriam, Arabiam desertam, Mesopotomiam, Chaldeam, Persidum, Sinum Persicum et mare Indicum Goam pervenit 18 martii anni 1646. Inde egressus 14 septembris ejusdem anni . . . rediit Massiliam . . . 4 junii anni 1649* (Marseille: 1652). The printed catalog of the Bibliothèque Nationale, from which this reference was obtained, cites two editions that year -- one in quarto of forty-six pages and the other in octavo of seventy pages. Both *BCJ* and *BECJ* also cite a French translation in duodecimo, *Les remarques de l'illustre Pèlerin très curieuses* (Lyon: 1673) not listed in the *BN* printed catalog. Likewise, there is a second Latin edition of seventy pages edited by Auguste Carayon, S.J. (Paris:

a very brief account of this journey.

The Austrian Johann Grueber (1623-1680), and his Belgian compatriot, Albert d'Orville, were the first modern Europeans to travel from China through Tibet and Nepal to Agra in India.<sup>128</sup> D'Orville died there (in April, 1662), but Grueber joined forces with another Jesuit, Henry Roth, and continued on through Persia and Armenia arriving at Rome in February, 1664. No account of this journey exists as such, but information regarding it is available in four main sources.<sup>129</sup> The material on Armenia is scanty.

Jean-Baptiste de la Maze (1625-1709) was a missionary in Armenia and Persia. Péris de la Croix, who studied Armenian with him in Isfahan circa 1675, wrote that de la Maze was "learned in languages, and he had perfected Armenian so well (which is very rare for a Frenchman) that he held

---

1874). I have been unable to locate any of these titles. In their absence, it seems unlikely to me that Rigordi really did travel through Armenia given the clear reference in the title to ". . . per Syriam, Arabiam desertam, Mesopotamiam, etc.," the more frequented desert route. Likewise there is an obvious contradiction between the years given in the title, which indicate a journey of six years and the above Jesuit sources which refer to two voyages in this period. Still, it is entirely possible that Rigordi could have returned via Armenia and the question, as well as his inclusion herein, must remain tenuous until his work is secured.

<sup>128</sup>BECJ, I, 2312; BU, XVII, 632-633; C. Wessels, S.J., Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603-1721 (The Hague: 1924), pp. 164-204. This last account is the best bio-bibliographical source for Grueber.

<sup>129</sup>See Wessels, pp. 165-171, for a critical examination of the four sources which are: 1) Grueber's letters; 2) a brief account in Athanasius Kircher, S.J., Athanasii Kircheri e Soc. Jesu China Monumentis . . . Illustrata [usually -- and hereafter -- cited as China Illustrata] (Amsterdam: 1667), French translation by F. S. Dalquié, La Chine . . . Illustrée (Amsterdam: 1670); 3) an Italian notice in Melchisedech Thevenot, ed., Relations de divers voyages curieux, IV (Paris: 1672); and 4) Grueber's answers to ten specific questions, reproduced in Kircher, La Chine, and Thevenot, IV, above. John Pinkerton, ed., A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World, VII (London: 1811), pp. 587-595, provides an abstract of a portion of Grueber's journey.

college there to instruct young Armenians, many of whom he converted to our religion by this means."<sup>130</sup> He died in Shamākhā as the Superior of the Jesuit mission there. His only published record is his account of a journey from Shamākhā to Isfahan in 1698, which lies outside of our geographical limits.<sup>131</sup>

Pierre René Ricard (1657-1717) was also a missionary in Armenia and Persia, being made Superior of the mission in Erevan in 1702. He seems to have written a controversial -- and therefore never published -- book in Armenian.<sup>132</sup> One of his letters from Armenia has been published.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>130</sup>Pétis de la Croix, p. 127, "savant dans les langues, et il a si bien cultivé l'arménienne (ce qui est très-rare pour un français) qu'il y tient collège pour l'instruction des jeunes Arméniens, dont par ce moyen il convertit plusieurs à notre religion."

<sup>131</sup>BCJ, V, 830; BECJ, II, 1087, III, 2345. His account is published as "Journal du voyage de P. de la Maze, de Chamakié à Ispahan, par le province du Guilan," Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amerique [hereafter LEC], M. L. Aimé-Martin, ed., I (Paris: 1838), pp. 357-372. This journal can also be found in Thomas Charles Fleuriu [de Armenonville], S.J., Nouveaux memoires des missions de la compagnie de Jésus, dans la Levant, III (Paris: 1723), pp. 393-482. There is also a letter from de la Maze to Fleuriu in that author's Etat present de l'Armenie, pp. 278-290. Fleuriu (1651-1735), as Procurator of the Levant missions, received letters and memoirs from Jesuits all over the Middle East and edited and published them as above. See BCJ, III, 788-789; BECJ, I, 1879-1880, III, 2181; BU, XIV, 227; and NBCJ, XVII, 907-908, on Fleuriu.

<sup>132</sup>BCJ, VI, 1772, which cites a letter from M. Ferréol, French ambassador at Constantinople in 1702, suggesting that Ricard not publish the work, the contents of which were not indicated.

<sup>133</sup>"Lettre du P. Ricard, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus, du 7 août 1697," LEC, I, pp. 337-340; Fleuriu, Nouv. mem., III, pp. 253-271. Ricard died of the plague at Shamākhā; see John Bell, Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to Diverse Parts of Asia, I (Glasgow: 1763), pp. 64, 138-139, who further notes that 70,000 persons had died from the plague in the province of Shīrvān in the previous eight months [i.e. April-December, 1717]. On Bell (1692-1780), see the "Introduction" by J. L. Stevenson to his edition of John Bell, A Journey from St. Petersburg to Pekin, 1719-1722 (Edinburgh: 1966), pp. 1-27.

Claude de Bèze was a scientifically inclined Jesuit who worked mainly in the Far East. At some time before his death in Bengal in 1695, he made some astronomical determinations on the longitudes and latitudes of various cities in Armenia and Turkey, e.g., Izmir, Trebizond, Erzurum and Erevan,<sup>134</sup> but his work has no other value for this inquiry.

Léonard Monier, or Mosnier, was born in Aquitaine in 1675.<sup>135</sup> He was a missionary in Armenia and Persia, becoming Superior of the Persian mission. He died there in 1724. His "Lettre" is a survey of the history and present state of Armenia, emphasizing its religious and theological nature, but also having some value in the information on the Armenian towns which it contains; his "Journal" is his account of a trip from Erzurum to Trebizond and back and, aside from mentioning a few Armenian towns along the way, is of little importance.<sup>136</sup>

The last of these Jesuits is Franz Caspar Schillinger, who travelled through Armenia in 1699 with two other members of the Company, Wilhelm Weber and Wilhelm Mayr. They were travelling to the Jesuit missions in India.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>134</sup>BCJ, I, 1434; BECJ, I, 617; BU, IV, 262; NBC, V, 900. The observations were edited and published by Pere Göllye in Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences (1699), p. 85. They are reportedly also to be found in Observations physiques et mathématiques pour servir à l'histoire naturelle, etc., envoyées des Indes et de la Chine à l'Académie royale des sciences à Paris par les Peres Jesuites; avec Notes du P. Göllye (Paris: 1692).

<sup>135</sup>BCJ, V, 1334; BECJ, II, 1344. Monier's involvement in the Fabre-Michel Mission and the Marie Petit affair is detailed in Lockhart, Fall, pp. 439-441.

<sup>136</sup>"Lettre du P. Monier au P. Fleuriau, sur l'Arménie," LEC, I, pp. 293-329, and "Journal du voyage du P. Monier d'Erzerum à Trebizonde," LEC, I, pp. 329-332. They first appeared in Fleuriau, Nouv. mem., III, 1-226; 314-333, and Monier's "Lettre" can also be found as "Relation de l'Arménie" in Jean Frederic Bernard, ed., Recueil de voyages au nord, 3rd edn., VI (Amsterdam: 1729), pp. 1-116.

<sup>137</sup>Schäfer, "Essay," pp. xci-xcii cites Schillinger's work as

One of the more interesting brief accounts of Armenia is that of the Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes<sup>138</sup> whom we have previously met.<sup>139</sup> Born at Avignon in 1591 and descended from converted Spanish Jews named Rueda who left Aragon early in the sixteenth century, Rhodes entered the Society in 1612. In October, 1618, he left Rome for the Orient, traveling via the Cape to Goa, where he arrived in October, 1619. Three years later he went to Malacca and then, in 1623, to Macao to work in the missions. He spent the next twenty-two years in southeast Asia before finally preparing to return to Europe.

It was this return journey which brought Rhodes through India to Bandar 'Abbās in March, 1648. From there Rhodes commenced the usual overland journey via Lār and Shīrāz to Isfahan, in the company of a Frenchman and a Belgian who "were both Calvinists but outside that certainly very fine men. I didn't miss any opportunity of acquainting them with their errors along the way, but I didn't meet with the success I hoped for."<sup>140</sup> Along the same road, he tells us, "I saw a very good-looking man, well-mounted, dressed as a Persian, wearing turban, coat, and scimitar and the long square beard. I took him for a Persian or an Armenian lord."<sup>141</sup> But it was, in fact, none other than La Boullaye-Le-Gouz

---

Persianische und Ost-Indianische Reis welche Franz Caspar Schillinger . . . mit P. Wilhelm Weber, und P. Wilhelm Mayr, . . . durch das Türkische Gebeit im Jahr 1699 angefangen und 1702 vollendet (Nürnberg: 1707). I have been unable to locate this work.

<sup>138</sup>BCJ, VI, 1718-1721; BECJ, III, 144; BU, XXXV, 529-530; NBG, XLII, 104-105; EP, pp. 168-170; and the "Introduction" by Solange Hertz to her English translation of Rhodes' work Rhodes of Viet Nam, pp. v-xv.

<sup>139</sup>See above, p. 36.

<sup>140</sup>Rhodes, pp. 423-424/p. 220.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid., p. 424/pp. 220-221.

travelling à la persane as was customary for many Western travellers at that time. The two travellers struck up a warm and lasting friendship, and, back in Europe, even discussed the possibility of travelling to China together.<sup>142</sup>

Rhodes reached Isfahan in mid-April 1648 and remained there until late in June awaiting a caravan, "without which I couldn't safely cross the many kingdoms I still had to go through."<sup>143</sup> Even then, he adds, "my friends all wanted me to take off my habit and disguise myself as an Armenian for fear the Turks would offer me some insult when I went through their territory."<sup>144</sup> The caravan departed Isfahan on 28 June 1648, the Feast of the Apostle St. Peter and St. Paul, whose protection "I certainly needed . . . being the only Catholic in the entire company of 150 travelers."<sup>145</sup>

A month later, the caravan reached Tabriz, where they remained for two weeks. Passing through Julfa, they arrived in Erevan on 1 September 1648. Rhodes was forced to remain in Erevan for three months due to a serious illness. When he had recovered and was ready to depart, toward the first of December, he faced a unique dilemma. While in Macao, Rhodes had baptized and taken into his service a "Chinaman" whom he was now taking with him to Rome. Some Armenian friends, however, warned him that once in Turkish territory -- only a few days' travel away -- several Turks in the caravan would seize him, as he was thought to be a Muslim

---

<sup>142</sup>This trip never materialized even though both men did return to Persia. They both died there as well, Rhodes in 1660 or 1661 and La Boullaye, as we have seen, in 1668.

<sup>143</sup>Rhodes, pp. 435-436/p. 226.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid.

Tatar. Rhodes solved his problem by leaving the young man in the care of the Catholic Archbishop at the Dominican monastery near Naxiĵewan, who promised to bring him to Rome in six months' time. The young man finally did reach Rome early in 1650, sixteen months after their separation. There seems to have been little difficulty in his traversing Turkey as the Dominicans had "taught him Armenian so well that later, traveling through Turkish territory and appearing before various judges who tried to make him out a Tatar, he always spoke such good Armenian he was thought to have really been born in Armenia."<sup>146</sup> One wonders whether the prospect of a Sino-Armenian was sufficiently common in the Anatolia of the seventeenth century not to have aroused more suspicion.

The remainder of Rhodes' homeward journey can be quickly detailed. Having left Erevan on or about 1 December 1648, the caravan proceeded by way of Erzurum and Tokat to Izmir, which was reached on 17 March 1649. Rhodes left Izmir on a Genoese ship and was back in Rome at the end of June, 1649, after thirty-one years in the Orient.

During the subsequent years in Europe, Rhodes prepared his Divers Voyages for publication and worked hard for the establishment of new missions in Persia. In these attempts he was successful, and, late in 1654, he embarked once again for Persia. After a very difficult and dangerous journey, he arrived back in Isfahan in early October, 1655, where he devoted his few remaining years to the Jesuit mission. A year or two before his death in late 1660 or early 1661, he prepared a brief history of the Jesuit Mission in Persia.<sup>147</sup>

---

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., pp. 440-441/pp. 228-229.

<sup>147</sup>Alexandre de Rhodes, S.J., Relation de la Mission des Peres de la Compagnie de Iesus. Establie dans le Royaume de Perse (Paris: 1659),



Still, his Divers Voyages is the most important of his works for our purposes. It reveals an intelligent, devoted, and good-natured man, always ready -- even anxious -- to accept martyrdom, and, despite his professions to the contrary, quite interested in the life going on about him. He was, of course, as biased toward his faith as any of his contemporaries, but he was not a zealot and cheerfully accepted his not infrequent failures to convert likely prospects. Since he provides a good deal of interesting material on what to him were strange practices of Armenian monks in Erevan and the unhappy circumstances of the Armenians of Isfahan, he can perhaps be forgiven for believing the solution to much of what he observed lay in conversion to his faith.

Nearly thirty years later, Père Philippe Avril (1654-1698)<sup>148</sup> was sent out to determine a safe land route to China in order to avoid the dangerous passage by sea which claimed many lives. In the company of his brother, he sailed from Leghorn in January, 1685. By 11 March they had reached Aleppo where the brothers separated, our author going on to Bitlis [Betlis] while the other Avril remained behind, destined for service in some other mission. Père Philippe set out on 24 March in a smallish caravan of around 200 persons. He was immediately befriended by an Armenian Catholic merchant who liked Jesuits and began to teach him Eastern languages. At the Armenian's urging, Avril travelled "disguiz'd like an

---

translated by Sir Arnold T. Wilson as "History of the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, Established in Persia by the Reverend Father Alexander of Rhodes," Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies III, 4 (1925), 675-706.

<sup>148</sup>BU, II, 518-519; NBG, III, 882; BCJ, I, 706-707; BECJ, I, 346; EP, pp. 77-79. Avril's credulity, it should be recalled, was strained by the Dutchman Struys' account. See above, n. 124, for the reference to Avril's work.

Armenian for my greater security."<sup>149</sup> Their route lay through Diyarbekir and the still snow-covered "Mountains of Armenia"; Bitlis was reached on Easter-Monday, 22 April 1685.

The exact duration of Avril's various activities during the subsequent year is unknown, but he soon left Bitlis for Erzurum [Erzerum] and later Erevan [Irivan]. He was in Erzurum long enough, however, to experience one of its frequent -- and renowned -- earthquakes.<sup>150</sup> The excitement of such a natural disaster unfortunately soon dissipated into the tedium of travel, as Avril moved on to Erevan in a journey which he describes as among the most tiresome in his experience. His first view of Erevan and especially of the crosses on its churches afforded him great consolation.<sup>151</sup> How long he remained in Eymiacin [Ichmiazin] and Erevan cannot be determined, but he was probably there for some months, visiting the churches and, no doubt, trying to convert the "Schismatics."

During this time, too, he settled on a route to China via Astrakhan, "as the most safe, and most commodious of all the rest, by reason of the Caravans which set out from there three or four times a year for Bokara and Smarkand, where the Muscovites and Yousbecs traffick together."<sup>152</sup>

<sup>149</sup>Avril, p. 24/p. 22, "deguisé en Armenian pour plus grande seureté."

<sup>150</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 56-57/pp. 50-51. Avril met a mathematician "somewhere or another" ["quelque part"] who was "somewhat intoxicated" ["un peu entêté"] with the Copernican philosophy and who saw these earthquakes as further proof for that system, especially since earthquakes usually travel east to west. What is more interesting, perhaps, is Avril's touch of scorn, with Newton's *Principia* already published for five years:

<sup>151</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 57, 66-67/pp. 52, 60.

<sup>152</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 72/p. 66, "comme à la plus seure & la plus commode de toutes, à cause des Caravanes qui en partent trois ou quatre fois l'année pour se rendu à Bokara & à Smarkand, où les Moscovites & les Yousbecs traffiquent ensemble."

Consequently, Avril left Erevan on 23 April 1686 with his colleague Louis Barnabé,<sup>153</sup> disguised this time as Georgians "whose habit carries a great awe with it over all Persia."<sup>154</sup> Their route took them through Ganja [Gangea] and across the Kura to Shamākhā. From there they proceeded to Astrakhan over the Caspian, arriving at that city on 20 June.

Avril never did find his way to China. After numerous difficulties in Astrakhan he went on to Moscow, then into Poland and Lithuania and back to Moscow, trying unsuccessfully to secure permission to continue his mission. Ill health finally forced him to return to France sometime late in 1690. He remained there for nearly eight years during which time he published the account of his travels. Then, in 1698, he set sail once again and was lost in a shipwreck.<sup>155</sup>

While Philippe Avril was encountering suspicion and frustration in Russia and Poland, another Jesuit was also sent out to search for a safe overland route to China. This missionary, Jacques Villotte (1656-1743),<sup>156</sup>

<sup>153</sup>Louis Barnabé, S.J., was a missionary in Armenia when he met Avril in Diyarbekir. They worked together closely from that time until they separated in Moscow, from where Barnabé returned to Europe. On his way to rejoin Avril, Barnabé was shipwrecked and drowned off the coast of Norway in November, 1687. See BCJ, I, 904. Fleuriau, *Estat present de l'Armenie*, published extracts from his letters, pp. 242-245, and his eulogy, pp. 112-114.

<sup>154</sup>Avril, p. 72/p. 66, "dont l'habit est redouté dans toute la Perse."

<sup>155</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 3/p. 3. It is ironic that Avril should lose his life in this fashion, since it was precisely to alleviate the terrible losses on the sea that he was sent out in the first place. He tells us that of six hundred Jesuits sent to China by sea since the Society was allowed to operate there only a hundred or so ever reached their destination.

<sup>156</sup>BCJ, VIII, 787-789; BECJ, III, 1414-1415; BU, XLIII, 530-532; NBG, XLVI, 228; EP, pp. 190-191. The author of numerous works including a *Dictionarium novum latinum-armenium* (Rome: 1714), Villotte's most important work was his *Voyages d'un missionnaire de la compagnie de Jesus, en Turquie, en Perse, en Armenie, en Arabie, & en Barbarie* (Paris: 1730); this work was edited by the Jesuit Nicolas Frizon.

spent over twenty years in the Ottoman Empire and Persia. He embarked for Izmir and Constantinople at Marseille at the end of September, 1688, and reached the Ottoman capital on 15 October.<sup>157</sup> After three weeks there, he went by sea to Trebizond, then on to Erzurum where he arrived on Christmas Day, 1688. From that time, his fortunes were closely tied to those of the missions in Armenia and Persia. He travelled back and forth repeatedly, sometimes as a result of missionary activities and sometimes trying to carry out his other charge.

Between his arrival at Erzurum in 1688 and his return to Constantinople in June, 1695, Villotte himself listed twelve distinct journeys. Nor was he to remain in the Ottoman capital long, though he did use his time there to add a reading knowledge of Turkish to his already fluent spoken Turkish and excellent Armenian. At the end of January, 1696, he set sail for Aleppo and from there proceeded to Isfahan, arriving on 3 July that same year. His wanderings now came to an end, and he lived in Isfahan until 28 October 1708. On the next day he set off to return to Constantinople and home over the now familiar route through Armenia. But instead of going to Trebizond as he had so often, he continued on overland from Erzurum through Tokat to Constantinople, where he remained a month, until late April, 1709. Then he embarked a final time and reached Toulon (after being detoured to Tunis) on the first of September. After a brief rest in Provence he set out for Rome, where, among other activities, he prepared his many books for publication.

The best of these works, Villotte's Voyages, is an extremely interesting volume which provides a good deal of information on a number of

---

<sup>157</sup>Villotte, p. 10. He arrived in Izmir shortly after a severe earthquake had struck and notes that there were still 15,000 Turks, 10,000 Greeks, 2,000 Jews, and 200 Armenians living there.

topics, especially Jesuit activities among the Armenians; and the various phases of Jesuit-Armenian-Ottoman hostilities; it also includes an invaluable appendix on itineraries through Armenia and Persia. Since he travelled through Armenia so extensively he came to know the people and places thoroughly, though his treatment of them is sometimes superficial.

Missions other than the Jesuits operated in and around Armenia; they included the Augustinians, Capucins, Carmelites, Dominicans, and Theatins. Members of these orders therefore passed through the country in large numbers, but only a very few of them published works dealing with the area. Two Theatins can be cited in this respect.

Both Francesco-Maria Maggio and Clement Galanus were in Armenia in the seventeenth century. Maggio (1612-1686), who was from Palermo, went East with Galanus in 1636 and spent several years in the missions of Georgia. On his return to Rome he published a grammar of Georgian.<sup>158</sup>

Galanus<sup>159</sup> was born in Sorrento early in the seventeenth century and professed at Naples in February, 1628. From Aleppo, where they were in November, 1636, Galanus, Maggio and other Theatins proceeded through Armenia to Gori, in Georgia. Galanus spent several years in the Georgian missions before ill health caused him to go to Constantinople in April, 1641. While there he was involved in attempts to unify the Armenian and Catholic churches. These activities aroused opposition among various Armenian priests who denounced him to the Ottoman authorities; as a result,

---

<sup>158</sup>On Maggio, see Vezzosi, *Scrit. teatini*, II, pp. 4-23; *BU*, XXVI, 35-36; *NBG*, XXXIII, 700-701; and *EP*, p. 146. His grammar is entitled *Syntagmata Linguarum Orientalium quae in Georgiae regionibus audiuntur* (Rome: 1643). Vezzosi lists seventy published and forty-five unpublished works by Maggio, no others of which appear to deal with the East.

<sup>159</sup>On Galanus (or Galano), see Vezzosi, *Scrit. teatini*, I, pp. 375-383; A. Vacant et al., eds., *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, VI (Paris: 1920), 1023-1025; *BU*, XVII, 632-633; and *EP*, p. 110.

Galanus was imprisoned, but managed to extricate himself and finally, in 1644, made his way to Rome, where he prepared his works for publication.<sup>160</sup> He died in May, 1666, attempting to secure the union of the Armenians of Poland to the Catholic Church.

Our sole Capucin missionary spent nearly thirty years in Armenia and Persia. This was Gabriel de Chinon,<sup>161</sup> who went to Persia in the early 1640's and served thereafter, first in Isfahan and then in Tabriz. He knew Persian, Turkish and Armenian. In 1670 he was sent to Malabar, where he soon died. His Relations nouvelles du Levant deals in turn with the religion, government and customs of the Persians, Armenians and Zoroastrians ["Gaures"]. It is primarily concerned with theological questions, and is therefore of restricted interest, though there is also information on other topics, such as Armenian history, customs, etc.

Our final traveller is the Discalced Carmelite missionary Philippus à Sanctissima Trinitate (but better known as Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité),<sup>162</sup> a Frenchman born as Julien Esprit near Avignon on 29 July

<sup>160</sup>Galanus' two main works are Crammaticae & Logicae Institutiones Linguae literalis Armenicae Armenis traditae (Rome: 1645), and the well-known Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana . . . Pars prima (Rome: 1650), reprinted as Clementis Galani . . . Historia Armena, Ecclesiastica & Politica (Cologne: 1686). The second part appeared in two volumes also as Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana (Rome: 1658, 1661). This work is the first major study to appear on Armenian theology, but it contains little else.

<sup>161</sup>On Père Gabriel see Lexicon Capuccinum (Rome: 1951), p. 652; BU, XV, 324-325; NBG, XIX, 109; and Schefer, "Essay," c-ci. His work is entitled Relations nouvelles du Levant; ou Traités de la Religion, du Gouvernement, & des Coutumes des Perses, des Armeniens & des Gaures, Louis Moréri, ed. (Lyon: 1671).

<sup>162</sup>Père Philippe is one of the more famous missionaries of the seventeenth century and there is consequently relatively more information available on him. See, for example, Ambrosius à S. Teresia, O.C.D., ed., Bio-Bibliographia Missionaria Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalccatorum (1584-1940), no. 213; *idem*, Nomenclator Missionarium Ordinis Carmelitarum

1603. He professed at Lyon in September, 1621, studied theology in Paris and in November, 1626, went to Rome to the Carmelite seminary for missions. In 1629 he was sent to Persia on the voyage which brings him to our attention.<sup>163</sup> On the eighth of February, in the company of several other Carmelites, he set out from Rome and, travelling via Naples, Malta and Cyprus, he reached Iskenderun [Alexandretta] on 15 April, and Aleppo three days later. From Aleppo, Père Philippe's journey led via the much frequented desert route through Baghdad [Babilone] to Isfahan [Aspahan], which he reached in mid-August. After nine months in Isfahan, spent chiefly in the study of Persian, he was ordered to Basra in May, 1630, following the customary route by way of Shīrāz and the Persian Gulf. He was in Basra from mid-June, 1630, until September, 1631, at which time he was sent to Goa, where he spent the next eight years. Finally, late in 1639, he was recalled to Europe and set out at once. On 21 May 1640, he arrived in Isfahan, where he remained until 4 June.

Père Philippe's itinerary through Armenia took him to Tabriz and then, on 6 August, to Van over the less-usual route through Xoy and Xoşap. Lake Van was crossed by boat, while the camels were brought around overland to Tatvan. From there he travelled through Bitlis and Diyarbakir, reaching Aleppo on 21 September, and at last arrived back in France on

---

Disalceatorum (Rome: 1944), pp. 308-310; A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia, II (London: 1939), pp. 989-993 (under "Philip of the Most Holy Trinity"); Melchior de Sainte-Marie, O.C.D., "Pour une biographie du P. Philippe de la Trinité (1603-1671) — Documents inédites," Éphémérides Carmeliticae II, 2 (June, 1948), 343-403; BU, XXXIII, 125; and NBG, XXXIX, 993-994.

<sup>163</sup>Philippus à SS. Trinitate, Itinerarium Orientale (Lyon: 1649); a French edition appeared as Philippe de la Très-sainte Trinité, Voyage d' Orient, Pierre de S. André, trans. (Lyon: 1652). Charles Bréard has edited a portion of this text in Histoire de Pierre Berthelot pilote et cosmographe du roi de Portugal aux Indes Orientales (Paris: 1889); it does not include any sections relevant to this work. On pp. 23-24, Bréard notes

6 February 1641. After completing business in Rome he returned to Avignon, advancing in the offices of his order. From 1665 to 1671 he was Praepositus General of the Congregation of Italy, the highest office in the Carmelite Order. He died in Naples on 25 February 1671. His Voyage d'Orient contains several sections dealing with the principal cities of Armenia, Armenian religious ceremonies, the Armenian faith, Mount Ararat, the Bitlis-Van route, etc., and as such is an important source for this study.

In a study of this kind, more than in works of a more "objective" nature, the sources must speak for themselves. As we shall see in Chapter Four, whenever one considers the development and transmission of images, what matters most is what people think rather than what really is. In a very real sense it makes no difference whatsoever if there ever was a Flood or an Ark, to take one important example; what is relevant is who believed in it and who did not, whether Ararat was accepted as its resting-place if the tradition was believed, and the reasons for these beliefs. Obviously this is not to deny one's duty to transcend such matters and attempt to evaluate the relative worth of the various sources. Rather, we must understand that for these purposes the only worthless source is one which does not deal with the questions at all. It is for this reason that one could have gained the impression that most, if not all, of our travellers were highly competent observers whose works can always be relied upon. Such a view is evidently very far from true.

There is no doubt that, length aside, there is a great range in the

---

that the French edition is considerably more complete than the Latin. A second French edition appeared at Lyon in 1669, and Italian translations at Rome, 1666, and Venice, 1667.



relative worth of these sources. Some of them, Poulliet's for example, were so superficial or biased that one is tempted to dismiss them outright, and yet to do so would be a serious mistake under the circumstances. Others, such as Gemelli-Careri's, can be shown to rely so heavily upon earlier narratives that they, too, seem to deserve the fate that has accrued to them -- consignment to the dim stacks of libraries, never to be referred to save by disoriented antiquarians, bibliophiles who might never read them in any case, and desperate Ph.D. candidates. But even this sort of borrowing, which is after all only a recent sin, is of some importance for us if we can assume -- incorrect facts aside -- that travellers might well have emulated earlier works because of a basic agreement with the views expressed therein. In other words, the type of borrowing to which we are referring, far from being primarily a result of laziness or dishonesty (though we cannot deny their possible influence), is itself an example of the transmission of those images with which we are concerned and merits careful attention.

Nevertheless, having said this, it is still the case that of all the sources we have surveyed, three or four stand out as especially important. Newbery's account is definitely one of them despite its abbreviated nature, since it is the earliest one under consideration and because of the extensive economic information he provides. Similarly, Cartwright's journal is significant as an early modern account of Armenia.<sup>164</sup>

After them, although there is much to recommend the works of several travellers, we must accept the verdict of Time and acknowledge that

---

<sup>164</sup>These and other early travellers to Persia are surveyed and briefly evaluated by Sarah Searight, The British in the Middle East (New York: 1970), pp. 35-50.

Chardin's journal has rightly been accorded its high place in travel literature. He was knowledgeable, careful, and objective to an admirable degree. He took notice of many aspects of Eastern life that were not usually considered, and he made serious efforts to search for underlying explanations and causes; in addition, he was fluent in Persian and utilized oriental sources wherever possible. It is all the more unfortunate for us that he did not travel more extensively in Armenia.

Tournefort cannot be ignored either. There is no question that his work was the most extensive travel account of Armenia up to that time and in sheer volume, if nothing else, he must be included among our most important sources. Fortunately, his work is valuable for reasons of content as well, and will be used extensively herein.

Some final considerations are perhaps in order. Since in this chapter we dealt with the travellers on the basis of purpose modified by nationality, we have not yet seen any chronological patterns emerge. As a result, one or two points should be clarified.

First, and most important, we must keep in mind that Armenia as defined in Chapter One was the theater of war between the Ottomans and Safavids from early in the sixteenth century to well into the seventeenth. This long period of hostility -- interspersed with brief outbreaks of peace -- finally ended in 1639 with the Treaty of Zuhab, which fixed the Turco-Persian frontier for nearly two hundred years, if not longer.<sup>165</sup>

---

<sup>165</sup>While it is true that the frontier was solidly established in 1639 and formed the basis for all later modifications, it is essential that we realize that it was only approximate over much of its length: in Armenia it followed the course of the Arpaçay [Axurean] to its juncture with the Araxes and then became rather more vague. The English translation of the treaty is most readily available in J. C. Hurewitz, ed., Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, I (Princeton, New Jersey, and New York: 1956), pp. 21-23. The period of the Ottoman-Safavid wars is dealt with in a general

The relative scarcity of travellers in Armenia in general and over the main Erzurum-Erevan-Tabriz route in particular, clearly reflects these troubled times. Of the thirty-two individuals who have just been discussed, only nine were in Armenia in the sixty years before 1640, as compared to twenty-two during the subsequent sixty years.<sup>166</sup>

Our information for the period before 1640 is restricted further

---

way first of all by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, 10 vols. (Pest: 1827-1835), French translation by J.-J. Hellert, Histoire de l'empire ottoman depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, 18 vols. (Paris: 1835-1843). The latter edition is employed herein. See vols. V-IX on these wars. Based upon Hammer's work for the most part, Edward S. Creasy, History of the Ottoman Turks, new edn., 2 vols. in 1 (London: 1858) serves as a convenient English summary of it. See volume I passim, especially pp. 358-413. The New Cambridge Modern History [hereafter NCMH] contains several articles on Ottoman history which include material on Ottoman-Safavid relations: See V. J. Parry, "The Ottoman Empire (1481-1520)," NCMH, I (Cambridge: 1967), 395-419; idem, "The Ottoman Empire, 1520-66," NCMH, II (Cambridge: 1968), 510-533; idem, "The Ottoman Empire, 1566-1617," NCMH, III (Cambridge: 1968), 347-376; idem, "The Ottoman Empire, 1617-48," NCMH, IV (Cambridge: 1970); A. N. Kurat, "The Ottoman Empire Under Mehmed IV," NCMH, V (Cambridge: 1969), 500-518, and A. N. Kurat and J. S. Bromley, "The Retreat of the Turks, 1683-1730," NCMH, VI (Cambridge: 1970), 608-647. Halil İnalcik has written similar articles for The Cambridge History of Islam [hereafter CHI], P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis, eds., 2 vols. (Cambridge: 1970). The most relevant for our purposes is H. İnalcik, "The Heyday and Decline of the Ottoman Empire," I, pp. 324-353, to be used in conjunction with R. M. Savory, "Safavid Persia," I, pp. 394-429. İnalcik's recent The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600, Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber, trans. (London: 1973), is good for the period immediately preceding the one under consideration, while Norman Itzkowitz, Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition (New York: 1972), provides a useful brief synthesis of the most generally accepted recent works. Finally, four specialized studies may be cited: M. Moukbil Bey, La campagne de Perse (1514) (Paris: 1928), which deals with the military aspects of the Ottoman victory over the Safavids at Chaldiran; Lucien-Louis Bellan, Chah Abbas I (Paris: 1932); Rahmatollah Achoubé-Amini, Le conflit de frontiere irako-iranien (Paris: 1936), pp. 29-33; and Mohammad-Ali Hekmat, Essai sur l'histoire des relations politiques irano-ottomanes de 1722 à 1747 (Paris: 1937), pp. 17-39 et passim.

<sup>166</sup>These figures do not include the thirty-second traveller, Buxbaum, who passed through Armenia in 1725. A complete chronological listing is provided in Appendix B.

because of the nature of those nine sources. One, Poser's, was unavailable. Two others, Maggio's Georgian grammar and Galanus' mainly theological work, were not used at all because they do not deal with the problems at hand,<sup>167</sup> and those of Midnall and Coryat provided only the most limited information due to their extreme brevity. Finally, although Tavernier first arrived in Armenia in 1630 or so, his work was not published until 1676 and cannot be considered as a reflection of Armenia at that earlier date, but deals rather with all six of his voyages, with emphasis on the later ones. We are thus left with three sources from the first twenty years of our period and none for the years from 1603 to 1639 -- which coincides with the times of the most intense hostilities between the two empires. Had Poser's work been available it might well have filled the gap to some degree, but as it is not we must make do with what there is and conclude that trade and travel -- as well as many other aspects of Armenian life -- were disrupted by the incessant upheaval of the first part of the seventeenth century.

That upheaval was not due to warfare alone, however. The Ottoman government was also faced with considerable local opposition in the seventeenth century, and their attempts to suppress what came to be known as the Jelali movement disrupted eastern Anatolia all the more.<sup>168</sup> Interestingly, our travellers seem totally unaware of the Jelali problem --

---

<sup>167</sup>See above pp.83-84.

<sup>168</sup>The Jelalis [Turk. Celâli, Arm. Ĵalali] were discontented ex-Ottoman soldiers, most often Sipahis [feudal cavalry] who roamed the eastern Anatolian countryside usually supporting themselves by robbery and raiding. They were a serious threat to the central Ottoman government from the end of the sixteenth century until late in the seventeenth. On them see the excellent summary by İnalçik in CHI, I, pp. 347-350 and the more detailed studies by M. G. Zulalyan, Ĵalalineri Sarzumē [The Jelali Movement], and Mustafa Akdağ, Büyük Celali Karışıklıklarının Başlaması [The Origin of the Great Jelali Disorders] (Ankara: 1963).

although their narratives indirectly provide corroboration for their presence. In other words, there is scarcely a traveller of the seventeenth century who does not encounter highwaymen or brigands at some point in his travels. The very fact that travel was traditionally conducted via caravans both attests to the dangers of the road and at the same time cautions us not to imply that all, or even most, highwaymen were Jelalis, since travel via caravans obviously antedates the Jelali problem by some time. We are merely suggesting that the extremely unsettled socio-economic conditions are reflected by these travellers even when they are not aware of the actual reasons for them. Nor, in all likelihood, would they have cared whether they were being robbed by a "mere" highwayman, or by a discontented ex-soldier with some political or social grievance. For the traveller, as well as for the Eastern trader, the important matter was to arrive safely and not too impoverished at his destination. And for the traveller to Persia and the Indies, there was no plethora of choices as to route, as we shall consider in our next chapter.

### Chapter Three -- The Routes

Travel cannot be undertaken in Asia as it is in Europe, neither at regular hours, nor with the same ease.<sup>1</sup>

Constantinople, Smyrna [Izmir], and Aleppo were the three principal points of departure for travellers bound for Armenia and Persia. A fourth possibility existed through Russia down the Volga to Astrakhan and over the Caspian either to Shamākhā or Gīlān, and while this was a common enough route to Persia -- Olearius in 1636, Bruyn in 1703 and 1707, and Bell in 1716 all followed it, to name only the best known -- only Tectander von der Jabel and Jan Struys came to Armenia that way, both unintentionally. Tectander, it will be recalled, was one of two survivors of the mission led by Kakash von Zalonkemeny in 1602. He visited Armenia with the court of Shah 'Abbās, then returned to Persia before leaving for Europe through Georgia, Astrakhan and Moscow. Struys, on the other hand, neither intended to go to Armenia nor had any voice in the decision once it was made.<sup>2</sup> These exceptions aside, all of our remaining travellers to Armenia set out from one of these three important cities. Tavernier, who spent nearly thirty years in the East and traversed most of the routes to Persia (which makes him our chief authority on this subject), confirms the necessity of departing from one of these places.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Tavernier, p. 1, "Les Voyages ne se font pas dans l'Asie comme dans l'Europe, ny à toutes les heures, ny avec la mesme facilité."

<sup>2</sup>On Tectander and Struys, see above Chapter Two, pp. 29-31 and 69-71.

<sup>3</sup>Tavernier, pp. 2-3, 270 (all references to Tavernier are to volume I of the first French edition [1676] unless otherwise noted). For other contemporary accounts of routes to Persia and India see Antonio di Fiandra, in Berchet, La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia, pp. 224-225; "Relazione

From Constantinople there were two options. If the traveller was in a hurry, he could go by way of the Black Sea either to Trebizond, then overland to Erzurum where he would join the main route, or as Chardin did in 1672, ship out all the way to Mingrelia. Even though this way was shorter -- it usually took less than ten days to sail to Trebizond -- the dangers and fears of sea travel limited the numbers who attempted it.<sup>4</sup> Of our thirty-two travellers, only Chardin, Villotte (who made the voyage at least four times between 1688 and 1695), Gemelli-Careri in 1694, and Tournefort in 1701 sailed the Black Sea route.

The longer but safer way was to go overland from Constantinople or Izmir. These two routes generally met near Tokat and coincided for the rest of the eastward itinerary.<sup>5</sup> They will therefore be considered as

per li viaggi di Persia, 1673, 20 luglio," also in Berchet, Doc. LXXXV, pp. 293-294; and Manuel Godinho, S.J., *Relação do Novo Caminho*, 3rd edn. ([Lisbon:] 1944), pp. 180-187. A map locating the routes and the identifiable toponyms will be found on p. 11.

<sup>4</sup>On the dangers and advantages of the sea-route vs. the land-route see Chardin, I, pp. 110-112; Villotte, pp. 20-21; Tournefort, II, pp. 164-167/pp. 124-126; and Tavernier, pp. 302-303, and also p. 20, where he notes that "It is a very dangerous navigation, and one which is rarely made, because this sea is full of fog and subject to storms; and it is for this reason rather than for the color of its sand that it has been given the name 'Black Sea', everything which is deadly and gloomy being called 'black' according to the universal genius of all languages dead and living." ("C'est une navigation tres-dangereuse, & qui se fait rarement, parce que cette mer est pleine de broûillards, & sujette aux orages; & c'est pour cette raison plutost que pour la couleur de son sable qu'on luy a donné le nom de Mer noire, tout ce qui est funeste & obscur estant appelé noir selon le genie universel de toutes les langues mortes & vivantes.") Tournefort (p. 164/p. 124) disagreed, remarking that "the Black Sea has nothing Black in it, as I may say, beside the Name" ("la mer Noire n'a rien de noir, pour ainsi dire, que le nom").

<sup>5</sup>For the route between Izmir and Tokat see Tavernier, pp. 85-93, who figures on approximately thirty-five days; and Pouillet, II, pp. 37-39.

one route for our purposes. At least half of our travellers passed this way in one direction or the other, from Newbery going west in 1581-1582 to Buxbaum travelling east in 1725.<sup>6</sup> This main route by way of Erzurum, Erevan and Tabriz (generally following the Araxes valley to Julfa) will be considered in much greater detail below.

One of the great commercial entrepôts of the East, Aleppo served as the rendezvous for many Persia and India-bound travellers. From it there were five principal routes East: north-east by way of Diyarbekir and Tabriz, most frequently a summer route; due east through Mosul and Hamadān; south-east via Baghdad and Kangavar, primarily a winter route; the Lesser Desert route through Ana and Baghdad, then south to Basra; and the Great Desert route directly to Basra.<sup>7</sup>

The first two of these routes -- or variants of them -- being the most northerly, were obviously those over which travellers to Armenia went, usually through Diyarbekir, Bitlis, Van, Xoşap, and Xoy to Tabriz. Coryat followed this route out in 1614, Père Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité came westward over it in 1640, as did Pouillet in 1660, and Pétis de la Croix in 1676, though only to Diyarbekir, from where he travelled to Constantinople through Anatolia. Tavernier followed it on one of his

---

<sup>6</sup>The others were Poser, Tavernier, La Boullaye, Rhodes, Manucci, Pouillet, Grueber, Daulier-Deslandes, Tournefort, and Villotte; Gemelli-Careri, Lucas, and Avril all travelled east from Erzurum only. Both Monier, a Jesuit missionary who has left us a journal of his round-trip from Erzurum to Trebizond in 1711, and Ricard must have travelled it often, as also Bèze, in order to make his astronomical observations. Finally, Charadin travelled over it from Erevan to Isfahan. The total is thus a minimum of eighteen and a half!

<sup>7</sup>Tavernier, p. 142. On the direct route to Basra, see Douglas Caruthers, "The Great Desert Caravan Route, Aleppo to Basra," The Geographical Journal, LII, 3 (September, 1918), 157-184, and map following 204, as well as his The Desert Route to India, being the Journals of Four Travellers by The Great Desert Caravan Route between Aleppo and Basra, 1745-1751 (London: 1929), especially the "Introduction," pp. xi-xxxvi.



return journeys,<sup>8</sup> Midnall and Cartwright in 1600 went as far as Van before swinging north to Naxiĵewan and Julfa, and, in 1685, Philippe Avril went as far as Bitlis before he, too, turned off, in his case for Erzurum. Finally, Paul Lucas left Aleppo in 1700 over a variant not mentioned by Tavernier which went to Erzurum by way of Malatya; in 1701-1702 he returned from Isfahan to Aleppo through Hamadān, Diyarbekir, and Urfa.

The two major routes through Armenia, then, were via Erzurum, Erevan, and Tabriz, and Bitlis, Van, and Tabriz, with the former clearly the more important. Fortunately, six of our accounts are fairly detailed and will allow us to obtain a clear picture of the itineraries for this period.

The route west from Erzurum will not be attempted for two reasons. First, and more important, the connection of that area with Greater Armenia diminishes in proportion to its distance from Erevan, even though large numbers of Armenians were still to be found in the districts of Tokat and westward. Second, we have two accounts less as source material, as Gemelli and Chardin never travelled overland that far west.

Likewise, the section of the route from Tabriz to Isfahan will not be dealt with as it, too, lies outside the strict limits of this inquiry. It should be noted, however, that this section of the route would be simpler to reconstruct in detail because of the many more travellers' accounts of the Tabriz-Qazvīn-Qum-Kāshān-Isfahan road.

Five of the detailed accounts describe the entire route from Erzurum to Tabriz. There are the ones by Tavernier, who travelled the road at

---

<sup>8</sup>Tavernier, p. 270. It was either on the return from his second (1642) or fifth (1662) voyage that he travelled this route since he specifically mentions the routes of his other voyages.

least five times in one direction or the other; Tournefort, who went from Erzurum through Kars to Tiflis before turning south for Erevan and Ararat and who then returned from there via Kars, Erzurum, and Tokat to Constantinople; Villotte, who spent years in Armenia and who lists two separate routes which coincide only occasionally; Newbery, who travelled west; and Gemelli who travelled east. Chardin, the sixth authority, came to Erevan from Mingrelia and Tiflis before proceeding to Tabriz and Isfahan.

In fact, there was not merely one established itinerary which every party or caravan followed to the same places every night. Rather, a careful study of their itineraries reveals that while all of the travellers over this route in Armenia passed through Erzurum, Erevan, and Tabriz, the stages between these major towns often varied considerably in distance and direction, usually depending on local conditions or whim.<sup>9</sup> It will be shown, then, that although there were only two routes from Erzurum to Tabriz, there were actually several roads available. In order to simplify the subsequent discussion, the route will be treated in two sections: Erzurum-Erevan and Erevan-Tabriz.

#### Erzurum -- Erevan

The main road out of Erzurum was usually followed east to Hasankale.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>The more detailed individual itineraries will be listed and, where possible, the various toponyms identified in Appendix F.

<sup>10</sup>Hasankale, the ancient Murg, or Murc'amor, was a six hour journey from Erzurum. See Tournefort, II, p. 383/p. 286; Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, ed., Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc. [hereafter HB] (London: 1895, with index and directory for 1911); and E. Ališan, Teḡagir Hayoc' Mecac' [Topography of Greater Armenia] (Venice: 1853), p. 40, no. 55.

and Kōprlkōy, where the Araxes river was crossed at Çobankōprl.<sup>11</sup> Hasankale was normally a half day's journey from Erzurum but in winter could become a journey of days, as it was for La Boullaye in 1647.<sup>12</sup> Çobankōprl was thus the normal first day's stop. Newbery, however, made a stop between there and Erzurum at Bollomash, which is probably the Polorbecch, or Polarbecche, of Pegolotti.<sup>13</sup>

From Çobankōprl, which was a major rendezvous, Tavernier tells us of two different routes to Erevan. The more direct route -- "la grande route" according to him -- went more or less due east through Kağizman to Erevan and was shorter and less boring. The alternative was northwest to Kars and then eastward to or near Ani. The advantages of the second alternative were twofold:

One takes the road to Kars as much to by-pass several fords of the Araxes, which is very troublesome, as to avoid a Duty on the main route, where one pays four piastres for

<sup>11</sup>See Vital Cuinet, La Turquie d'Asie, I (Paris: 1892), p. 162, and HB, p. 222, where "Choban Keupri" is described as "a fine stone bridge of six arches". Tavernier, p. 21, places the bridge at the confluence of the Kars and Bingöl rivers with the Araxes. However, H. A. Manandian, The Trade and Cities of Armenia, N. G. Garsoian, trans. (Lisbon: 1965), p. 193, places it at the junction of the Pasin-su and the Araxes, and says it has seven arches.

<sup>12</sup>La Boullaye, p. 71. His caravan took three days to reach Hasankale from Erzurum and had to camp in deep snows for two nights.

<sup>13</sup>Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, La Pratica della Mercatura, Allan Evans, ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1936), p. 390. Polorbecch is Polorabagh, the Cilician Armenian form of Bolorapahak, meaning "round gate or fortress." On Bolorapahak, see Hübschmann, Ortsnamen, p. 415, and on the consonantal shifts between Eastern and Western Armenian, see Josef Karst, Historische Grammatik des Kilikisch-Armenischen (Strassburg: 1901), passim. Evans equates this site with Çobankōprl and says there is a nearby village called Polur. If, however, my identification is correct, we must look farther west, since Newbery, p. 470, travelling in that direction, tells us he left Shew banc cupres [Çobankōprl], passed Hassan gallawth [Hasankale] that same morning, and then came to Bollomash.

each camel loaded with merchandise, and two for each horse, as compared to Kars where one gets away with half that.<sup>14</sup>

Which factor loomed more importantly in the minds of travellers is probably impossible to tell, but for those who give some indication as to which of these two routes they took, Kars was the overwhelming favorite.<sup>15</sup> As a result, we have only two detailed accounts of the main route -- Newbery's of 1581 and Tavernier's published in 1676.

The next eastern stop on the main road<sup>16</sup> after Çobanköprü came at

<sup>14</sup>Tavernier, p. 21:

On prend ce chemin de Kars, tant pour éviter de passer plusieurs fois l'Aras à gué, ce qui est fort incommode, qu'à cause d'une Dollane qui est sur la grande route où l'on paye quatre piastres pour chaque chameau chargé de marchandise, & deux pour chaque cheval, au lieu qu'à Kars on en est quitte pour la moitié.

The term piastre at this time referred to one of several European coins of medium value. It was only around 1688 that the Ottoman government issued its own version, the kuruş, which was usually referred to as a piastre by Europeans. The value of Tavernier's piastre, then, is not precisely determinable, because it is not clear exactly which piastre he means. The Ottoman kuruş was originally worth 160 akçes, which rate later fell to 120 akçes. On the kuruş, see the very useful "Appendix II -- Currencies" in Charles Issawi, The Economic History of the Middle East, 1800-1914 [hereafter EHME] (Chicago and London: 1966), p. 521; E. v. Zambaur, "Ghrüş," Encyclopedia of Islam, first edition [hereafter EI], as opposed to the new edition, EI<sup>2</sup>, II, 164-165; H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, I, 2 (London: 1962), pp. 53-54; Ekrem Koler-kiliç, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Para [Money in the Ottoman Empire] (Ankara: 1958); and Robert Mantran, Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul, XII (Paris: 1962). On the akçe, see below, n. 21.

<sup>15</sup>Only Newbery and perhaps Manucci took the main route, whereas Gemelli, Lucas, Pouillet, Tournefort and Villotte all clearly went through Kars. In all likelihood, Avril did likewise, the only hint being his description of the tedium of the journey (see above, Chapter Two, p. 80) and his fear of being brought before the Pasha of Kars for refusing to pay what he felt was an excessive customs duty (Avril, pp. 58-60/pp. 52-53). Tavernier, of course, went both ways.

<sup>16</sup>I shall treat all itineraries in order from west to east regardless of the direction in which the particular individual travelled the route.

Neither traveller names any villages between Kağızman and Eymiacin, though Tavernier indicates that camps were made near two on the Araxes. Newbery's one intermediate stop was also by the river, which they came to after having passed the site of the former "Citie called Sowmarin," which can be identified with the Armenian Surmari in the district of Čakat'.<sup>22</sup> It is thus possible to see that the route still followed the Araxes, though on its northern side after the crossing at Kağızman. This information coincides with Tavernier's, as he indicated that caravans still camped along the river three days after leaving Kağızman.<sup>23</sup>

With Erevan only three or four hours away, the arrival in Eymiacin represented the end of the first section of the journey. Tavernier said that it normally took twelve days between Erzurum and Erevan over this route,<sup>24</sup> but Newbery did it in ten, only nine of which were spent travelling.<sup>25</sup> Manucci's caravan probably made the trip in nine or ten days while crossing the Araxes several times, a good indication that the main route was followed.<sup>26</sup>

Our discussion of the alternate Erzurum-Kars-Erevan section of the route is based on the detailed accounts of Gemelli, Tavernier, Tournefort, and Villotte, who appended a valuable "Liste des Voyages" to his memoirs,<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup>Newbery, p. 469. Surmari [from Arm. Surb Mari = "Saint Mary"], called Surmalu on Lynch's map, is south of Sardarabad. See L. İnçicean, Storagrut'iwn Hin Hayastaneayc' [Description of Ancient Armenia] (Venice: 1822), p. 444; Hübschmann, p. 468. Newbery's mention of passing Surmari confirms the identification of Dagswan with Kağızman since he would have passed by there in travelling west from Erevan.

<sup>23</sup>Tavernier, p. 25.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>25</sup>Newbery, pp. 469-470.

<sup>26</sup>Manucci, pp. 16-17. He does not tell us exactly how long it took.

<sup>27</sup>Villotte, pp. 641-647. This list includes two separate routes.

in addition to describing his travels in the text. Tavernier's is the least useful account here, since he mentioned no place-names except for Kars and Ani over the entire route, which he travelled twice. He merely remarked that there were no villages whatsoever for the first four days' travel from Erzurum toward Kars;<sup>28</sup> this claim is not confirmed by our other authorities, all of whom name and describe several. In fact, while it is not difficult to identify the modern names and sites of most of the places referred to by the various travellers, virtually all that can be said about the route is that it proceeded generally northeast to Kars and then turned east-southeast toward Erevan. The reason for this is that, as we have already noted, we are not dealing with a single road with equidistant stopping points, but rather a general direction with a number of minor variants.

Several villages to the northeast of Erzurum could serve as the first night's stopover, including Hasankale, Aha, and Ezirmik.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the route could then proceed through a number of villages at the discretion of the guides. Thus the second night might be spent at villages such as Badicivan or Horasan.<sup>30</sup> Whatever the stops, the portion of the journey to Kars usually took five or six days.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup>Tavernier, p. 21.

<sup>29</sup>Aha: Gemelli, Axa; Villotte, Aha; Lynch map, Aja; Ališan, Teakir, p. 40, no. 12; S. Ēp'rikean, Patkerazard Bnašxarhik Bararan [Illustrated Topographical Dictionary], I (Venice: 1905), p. 56. Ezirmik: TMVK, I, p. 380; Tournefort, Elzelmic.

<sup>30</sup>Arm. Patičvan: Tournefort, Badijouan; Villotte, Badigevan; Ališan, Tefakir, p. 40, no. 56. Arm. Xorasan: Gemelli, Korason; Villotte, Corasan; Lucas, Corasan; Ališan, Teakir, p. 40, no. 56; Ēp'rikean, II p. 203.

<sup>31</sup>Gemelli took five days; Tournefort took five on his outward trip

The journey from Kars to Eymiacin or Erevan was usually accomplished in good time, despite Tavernier's claim that it took nine days.<sup>32</sup> Both Villotte and Tournefort made the westward journey in three days, as did Gemelli travelling east; Lucas took five. The route, again through various (usually unnamed) villages and open plains, lay generally to the southeast and normally crossed the frontier of the Arpaçay [Axurean] at or near Ani, with a stop often made at T'alin.<sup>33</sup>

The total travelling time from Erzurum to Erevan via Kars was thus also about nine or ten days, though in winter it could often take much longer.<sup>34</sup> Many of our travellers express great joy at leaving Turkey and entering Persia, usually because they were delighted to leave behind highwaymen, excessive and arbitrary customs duties, and discriminatory treatment, though some of these problems occasionally persisted for the first day or two of travel in Persia. Gemelli even got off his horse and kissed the ground after crossing into Persian territory!<sup>35</sup>

---

and seven on his return; Villotte cited eight towns in one list and six in the others, though these are probably all of the places one passed through, since he took five days in 1689 [pp.56-57] and six in 1691 [pp. 194-195]; and Tavernier indicated six. The unreliable Pouliet, II, p. 104, would have us believe the distance to be only seven leagues, which was travelled in twelve hours. While the league varied in length considerably, it is generally taken to be approximately three miles. See Oxford English Dictionary [hereafter OED], 1961 edn., VI, 148.

<sup>32</sup>Tavernier, p. 22.

<sup>33</sup>Arm. T'alin: Gemelli, Talen; Lynch map, Talin; Ališan, Ayrarat (Venice: 1890), pp. 137-141; Ep'rikean, II, pp. 5-9.

<sup>34</sup>La Boullaye, pp. 71-82, took fourteen days, while Rhodes, p. 447/p. 232, says it took them eighteen; both were travelling in heavy snows. Avril, pp. 110-111/p. 98, says that even the "most heavily laden and encumber'd Caravanes" took only twelve or thirteen days.

<sup>35</sup>Gemelli-Careri, I, p. 405/p. 103; cf. Avril, pp. 58-60/p. 54; Manucci, pp. 14, 16-17; Rhodes, p. 447/p. 232; Tournefort, II, p. 301/p. 225; and Villotte, pp. 58-59.

Erevan -- Tabriz

This section of the route is more straightforward than the first and, although not every site along it is as yet identifiable, the general direction and line is readily apparent, since we have five detailed accounts from which we can trace it.<sup>36</sup> From Erevan, one proceeded to Naxiġewan, Julfa, and Tabriz. The entire route ran in a southeasterly direction parallel to the Araxes river, and shelter was usually available at various caravanserais which became more numerous the nearer one approached Isfahan.

Between Erevan and Naxiġewan there were four or five stages, with the village of Satarak<sup>37</sup> being the one found most frequently in our accounts. The next stop usually came at the village or caravanseray of Karabaġlar,<sup>38</sup> about twenty miles northwest of Naxiġewan.

Most of our travellers spent the night after Naxiġewan in Julfa.<sup>39</sup> From there, as we have seen, the route went through Marand and Sufian to Tabriz, although there were intermediate stops possible at, for instance, Zunus.<sup>40</sup> Tavernier reported an alternative route between Julfa and Tabriz

<sup>36</sup>Newbery, Tavernier, Chardin, Gemelli and Villotte. Tournefort returned westward from Erevan and never went into Persia proper.

<sup>37</sup>Arm. Satarak: Chardin, Sedarec; Gemelli, Satarach; Villotte, Sadarak, or Sédéré [?]; Lynch map, Sadarak; Ališan, Teġakir, p. 76.

<sup>38</sup>Arm. Ėarabeaklear: Tavernier, Karabaglar; Gemelli, Keraba; Villotte, Karabaglar, an evident typographical error; Lynch map, Karabaglar.

<sup>39</sup>Of the five with whom we have been dealing here, only Chardin omitted Julfa from his itinerary. Others who passed through these principal towns were La Boullaye, who did not go through Julfa, Rhodes, Manucci, Grueber, and Lucas, whose caravan bypassed Naxiġewan to avoid "the affronts to Franks who pass by there" ["des avanies aux Franks qui y passent" (II, p. 266)].

<sup>40</sup>Arm. Zunus: Villotte, Zounous; Lynch map, Zunus; Ališan, Teġakir, p. 57, no. 105.



through Astabat, which Lucas also took.<sup>41</sup> The usual travel time between Erevan and Tabriz was seven to eleven days,<sup>42</sup> while the entire route from Erzurum to Tabriz, not counting layovers of more than a day or two, could be completed in anywhere from Manucci's fifteen travel days to Villotte's twenty-five.<sup>43</sup>

Bitlis -- Van -- Tabriz

The second route -- that by way of Van -- can quickly be dealt with since only Tavernier of those who used it<sup>44</sup> indicated more than the major stops. From Aleppo, caravans travelled generally north-east to Diyarbekir by way of Bir and Urfa. Cartwright, in 1600, described the journey beyond Diyarbekir:

wee exchanged our Camels, and in stead of them tooke Mules, a creature farre more fit to trauaile over craggy Rocks and Mountaines then Camels: for now we were within a few daies iourney, to passe ouer the high Mountaines of Armenia, called in Scripture the Mountaines of Arraret: which trauell with Camels is not only laborious, but very dangerous, if the ground should proue moist or slabby; for then being laden

<sup>41</sup>Arm. Astapat: Tavernier, Astabat; Lucas, Aslabat; Ēp'rikean, I, p. 253.

<sup>42</sup>Manucci gave 5 (which seems very fast, and should be regarded skeptically, as he was only fourteen or so when he travelled through Armenia, and he wrote his account some fifty years later); Gemelli, 7; Newbery, 7; Chardin, 10; Tavernier, 10; La Boullaye, 11; Lucas, 11; Villotte, in 1691, 17.

<sup>43</sup>Manucci, 15; Gemelli, 16; Newbery, 16; Daulier-Deslandes, 20; Tavernier, 22; Lucas, 22; La Boullaye, 25; Villotte, 25.

<sup>44</sup>The others were Cartwright and Midnall (east to Bitlis, then Julfa, 1600), Coryat (east, 1614), Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité (west, 1640), Pouillet (west, 1660), Pétis de la Croix (west to Diyarbekir, then across Anatolia to Constantinople, 1676), and Avril (east to Bitlis, then to Erzurum, 1685). See Appendix F for Tavernier's stages.

with great burdens, they cannot go onwards, neither are they able to pass with their huge burdens, through the straight passages which are in those Mountains.<sup>45</sup>

After Diyarbekir, travellers continued north-east to Bitlis, in the neighborhood of which they would encounter those "Mountains of Armenia": the mountains of Kurdistan. Once past Bitlis it was only a day's journey to Tatvan at the western end of Lake Van, where travellers were presented with an interesting option.

Tavernier tells us that when the weather was good and the wind right the fastest way between Tatvan and Van was to sail across the lake; this navigation could be accomplished in approximately twenty-four hours and was not considered dangerous.<sup>46</sup> Otherwise, it was necessary to go overland in a journey which took nearly eight days, around the north shore of the lake.<sup>47</sup> Pétis de la Croix, whose caravan took about eleven days from Van to Bitlis via the land route mentioned the customs posts along it as being at Erziş and Ahlat, though he did not disclose how much was paid at them.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup>Cartwright, p. 19.

<sup>46</sup>Tavernier, p. 275. Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, p. 564, went this way and then had to wait two days at Tatvan for the camels to be brought overland from Van. Given a day for the crossing, a total of three days would elapse until the reunion of travellers and camels; this discrepancy with Tavernier's figures indicates the possibility that the route of Père Philippe's camels was via the southern shore, rather than the customary route to the north. The reasons for suggesting this possibility follow directly.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., pp. 275-276.

<sup>48</sup>Pétis de la Croix, p. 150. Erziş is the Armenian Arčēš; Pétis de la Croix, Ardjich; Tavernier, Argiche; Lynch map, Rs [Ruins] of Arjish; S. B. Bařdasaryan, et al, Haykakan Sovetakan Sořialistakan Respublikayi Atlas [Atlas of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic] [hereafter Hayk. Atlas] (Erevan: 1961), p. 107. Ahlat (Arm. Xlat'): Pétis de la Croix, Ekhlaq; Tavernier, Kellat; Lynch map, Akhlat; Hayk. Atlas, p. 107. Tavernier, p. 276, mentions only one customs post at Algiaoux [ТМХ, I, p. 8,

Pouillet also travelled around the lake, only in winter. He repeatedly referred to the very heavy snowfall, saying at one point that it snowed seven and a half out of eight days and at another that he travelled in a caravan of only seven, a larger one being unnecessary as snow was the greatest enemy.<sup>49</sup> He claimed also that the severe conditions made a five day journey into one of fifteen or sixteen.<sup>50</sup> Since he did not mention any stops between Van and Tatvan, we can not be sure of which shore of Lake Van he traversed, but if his figure of five days is correct (and one can never be certain with Pouillet) it would seem more reasonable, though by no means a certainty, to assume he traversed the southern shore. Interestingly, he added that the journey to Bitlis was still made in the usual time of one day by travelling at night when the snow was firmer.<sup>51</sup>

Although Tavernier implied that the northerly way around Lake Van was the usual one,<sup>52</sup> even though it is clearly the longer one between Van and Tatvan, we have already seen the possibility that the southern route could also be followed. To those who perhaps went that way we must add the names of Cartwright and Midnall. While Midnall merely announced that it took them three days to travel from Bitlis to Van,<sup>53</sup> Cartwright -- who verifies the travel-time -- added that "we had a very wearisome and painful journey, over high mountains and craggy rocks, the way being exceedingly narrow, that a beast could hardly passe with his burden, without

---

Adilcevaz], a small village near Ahlat where one piastre per load was paid.

<sup>49</sup>Pouillet, II, pp. 349-350, 392.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 392.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 408.

<sup>52</sup>Tavernier, pp. 275-276.

<sup>53</sup>Midnall, p. 53.

much heaving and tumultuous shouldering."<sup>54</sup> Lake Van he called "Arctamar" and added that "two miles from this shore in the aforesaid lake are two Ilands called the Ecmenicke Ilands, inhabited only by Armenians, and some Georgians."<sup>55</sup> It thus seems reasonable to assume that he picked up the name of the Armenian church of Ait'amar and attributed it to the entire lake, and since the island of Ait'amar is located about two miles off the southern shore of the lake,<sup>56</sup> it is likely that Cartwright and Midnall followed it, especially given their fast time of three days from Bitlis to Van.

The route from Van to Tabriz was generally direct and, according to Père Philippe and Pouillet,<sup>57</sup> passed through Xoşap, Xoy and Sufian, although neither Tavernier nor Pétis de la Croix mention either of the first two towns. For this reason, it seems likely that once again we have a situation where the general direction of a route is known but where there were alternative roads that could be followed between major stops.

<sup>54</sup>Cartwright, p. 29.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Aght'amar: Church of the Holy Cross (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1965), p. 1. Ait'amar was the seat of a Kat'olikosate at this time, but Cartwright did not mention one there, although he did refer, p. 25, to "two Patriarkes, to whom they [the Armenians] give the name of Vniuersall: the one keepeth his seate in the City of Sis in Caramania, not farre from Tharsus: the other in the Monastery of Ecmeazin, neere vnto the City Eruan in this Countrey." Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, p. 301, knew of the Kat'olikos in Ejmiacin as well as one in Jerusalem and one "who resides near Aleppo who behave as though they were independent." Villotte, p. 85, a hundred years later, said that besides the Kat'olikos at Ejmiacin there was one at Sis, one at Ait'amar, and one at "Kantzasar" [Ganjasar, see Hübschmann, p. 417], all of whom, while "absolute and independent in their own district, do not approach the authority of the one in Three Churches, who is recognized as the universal Patriarch."

<sup>57</sup>Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, pp. 561-562; Pouillet, II, pp. 348-349.

Unfortunately, our information remains insufficient to pursue this problem at the present time.

For similar reasons it is impossible to give any accurate figures for the total travelling time between Diyarbekir and Tabriz, because only four of our travellers traversed the entire route, of whom only Pétis de la Croix and Tavernier were careful enough to cite any exact times. The former stated that the trip took forty-five days, while the latter listed thirty-five stops along the way.<sup>58</sup> Père Philippe did not give enough dates to judge his total elapsed time, though taking what other information he did provide we can determine that it took thirty days to reach Bitlis.<sup>59</sup> Adding Tavernier's figure of eight days between Diyarbekir and Bitlis yields a probable total of thirty-eight or thirty-nine days for Père Philippe's journey from Tabriz to Diyarbekir. Pouillet took from mid-January to mid-March for the same journey.<sup>60</sup> The times thus range from Tavernier's low of thirty-five to Pouillet's high of two months, a not unlikely total given the latter's difficult winter passage; the three figures for summer travel are much closer, however, at thirty-five, thirty-eight or thirty-nine, and provide a good estimate of the

<sup>58</sup>Pétis de la Croix, p. 151; Tavernier, pp. 273-280.

<sup>59</sup>On p. 113, Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité cited 18 June [1640] as his departure date from Tabriz, but on p. 560 he cited 26 June as his arrival there, and on p. 561 he said he left on 17 June. I am assuming he meant that he left Tabriz on 17 or 18 July, which keeps his travel time consistent with the others. We can follow his itinerary to Bitlis well enough since he left Van on 12 August [p. 564], waited two days in Tatvan for the camels to be brought around, and then went to Bitlis, probably arriving there on 15 or 16 August. After that he did not give any more times until after his departure from Diyarbekir.

<sup>60</sup>Pouillet, II, pp. 340-414.

times involved.

Let us close the discussion of this route with an observation by Tavernier, which demonstrates some of the more important concerns of the traveller. Despite the fact that the remark refers specifically to the Van route, it may be taken as typical of problems in many locales:

in most places it was impossible to have bread in exchange for money, and it was necessary to give the women some kind of bauble which they preferred. Although all these people may be Mahometans, one nonetheless finds very good wine in most places.<sup>61</sup>

### The Frontier

While the Ottoman-Safavid frontier was as fluid as most in the Middle East at that time, the portion in the northern part of Armenia was fairly well defined by the Arpaçay and Araxes rivers, at least after the Treaty of Zuhab of 1639.<sup>62</sup> Prior to that date, the border shifted with the fortunes of war and cannot as yet be determined with any accuracy. Most of our travellers crossed into Persia over the Arpaçay, while we have it on Tavernier's authority that Kağızman was the frontier on the main route farther south.<sup>63</sup>

The problem of the southern portion of this frontier is more complicated both because there are fewer natural barriers and fewer sources. In fact, only Tavernier and Pétis de la Croix provide any indication of

---

<sup>61</sup>Tavernier, p. 280, "il nous fut impossible en bien des lieux d'avoir du pain pour de l'argent, & il fallut de nécessité donner aux femmes quelques babioles qu'elles aimoient mieux. Quoy que tous ces peuples soient Mahometans, on ne laisse pas en bien des lieux de trouver de tres-bon vin."

<sup>62</sup>See above Chapter Two, p. 66.

<sup>63</sup>Tavernier, p. 24.

where the frontier along the Van route may have been, and Tavernier's is by no means specific. In his itinerary from Van to Tabriz he listed fourteen stages;<sup>64</sup> of these the ones important to this problem are:

Darchek  
Nuchar  
Kuticlar  
Kalvat (cs)

Kogia (cs)  
Darkavin (cs)  
Solimam-sera (cs)  
Kours

The abbreviation (cs) indicates caravansarays; the other stops were villages. Nuchar and Kuticlar were both controlled by a Kurdish Bey nominally under the suzerainty of the Sultan, but virtually independent, according to Tavernier.<sup>65</sup> The town of Kours was also controlled by a Bey who was a tributary of the Shah, and who lived in an old castle a half-league away.<sup>66</sup> Therefore, somewhere between Kuticlar and Kours, we can assume one crossed the frontier.

At this point, Pétis de la Croix's account provides some further information. Travelling west from Tabriz, he came to a large town named Tchors, probably the same as Tavernier's Kours, since Pétis also says the Kurdish prince was tributary to the Shah and that he lived in a strong citadel. The town of Tchors was a day's journey from the frontier.<sup>67</sup> But Pétis is even more specific:

The place where the frontier of Persia is marked along this route is in a small plain which has two small hills on which there have been placed pillars which are called Kutukler, and the last treaty made between the Persians and the Turks, which I have recovered, states that the place Kutukler would belong neither to one nor the other; it is about sixty-five leagues distant from Tauryz and

---

<sup>64</sup>Tavernier, pp. 277-279.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., pp. 277-278.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 279.

<sup>67</sup>Pétis de la Croix, p. 147.

we took sixteen days to get there, because of the passes in the mountains and the bad weather, . . .<sup>68</sup>

Pétis' Kutukler is obviously synonymous with Tavernier's Kuticlar and, although its exact location has not as yet been identified, it should not be a difficult task to do so. When the site has been identified, it will no doubt be near the modern border, perhaps in the vicinity of the present-day Kotur.

It was over one of these routes that most of our travellers reached Armenia. For the great majority of them, their journey through Armenia was a one-time occurrence, to which they responded with varying degrees of interest and treatment in their publications. Some saw the people and the countryside as a significant part of their travels while others had very little to say, reserving their descriptive powers for the -- to them -- more interesting and perhaps more exotic Turks, Persians, or Indians. None of them, however, can be considered ignorant of Armenia as every one about whom we can judge gave clear evidence of their awareness and knowledge of certain mythical and legendary aspects of the country's past; this is the topic of our next chapter.

---

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 148:

Le lieu où la frontière de Perse est marquée dans cette route est une petite campagne qui a deux collines sur lesquelles on a mis des piliers que l'on nomme Kutukler, et le dernier traité fait entre les Persans et les Turks que j'ai recouvré, porte que le lieu de Kutukler n'appartiendra ni aux uns ni aux autres, il est éloigné de Tauryz d'environ soixante-cinq lieues, et nous employâmes seize jours à les faire, à cause des défilés des montagnes et du mauvais temps, . . .

Kutukler is the Turkish kütükler, "logs". The works of Hammer, Hekmet, and Achoube-Amini do not seem to be aware of this passage or the place.



## Chapter Four -- Armenia in Legend

Our learned Men may judge as they please; but as I have never seen a more beautiful Country than the neighborhood of Three-Churches, I am strongly persuaded that Adam and Eve were created there.<sup>1</sup>

The vexing problem of the precise location of the Terrestrial Paradise is one which did not seem to concern all of our travellers. Cartwright, Coryat, Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, Chardin, Avril, Villotte and Tournefort did pose the question, however, reaching conclusions which vary according to their nationality.

Essentially, the problem was based on Genesis 2: 10-15, where it is written that "a river went out of Eden to water the garden: and thence it was parted, and became into four heads." These four heads were the Euphrates, the Hiddekal,<sup>2</sup> the Pison and the Gihon. What was required to locate Paradise on Earth was the identification of these rivers with recognizable contemporary ones, and that is what these writers attempted, sometimes in long digressions.<sup>3</sup>

The two Englishmen, Cartwright and Coryat, both placed it in

---

<sup>1</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 325/p. 244:

Nos Scavans en jugeront comme il leur plaira; pour moi qui n'ai pas veu de plus beau pays que les environs des Trois Eglises, je me sens fort disposé à croire qu'Adam & Eve y ont été créés.

<sup>2</sup>The river Hiddekal is usually identified with the Tigris; see Tournefort, II, pp. 323-325/pp. 242-243, where he refers only to the "Tygris", not Hiddekal, and Benjamin of Tudela, The Itinerary, M. N. Adler, ed. and trans. (New York: 1907, repr. 1964), p. 33.

<sup>3</sup>Cartwright, pp. 89-95; Coryat, "Letter I," in Foster, Early Travels, p. 241; Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, pp. 162-165; Chardin, p. 158; Avril, p. 50/p. 45; Villotte, pp. 51-56; Tournefort, II, pp. 323-325/pp. 242-243.

Mesopotamia. Cartwright was told that it was located on an island in the Tigris, twelve miles up river from Mosul, which he equated with Nineveh; Coryat mentioned it only in passing as he crossed the Euphrates, which he described as "the cheefest of all that irrigated Paradise wherehence, as from their original, the three other rivers were derived."<sup>4</sup>

The French, on the contrary, all thought Paradise to be in Armenia. Tournefort, to take the latest example first, began by examining earlier opinions and classical authorities. Then he compared those conclusions with the evidence of geography. After dismissing "Arabia" (by which he meant Mesopotamia, as is evident from his discussion of the Tigris and the Euphrates) and Palestine, he concluded, as we have already seen, that "it must of necessity be plac'd in the beautiful Vales of Georgia, which furnish Erzeron with all kinds of Fruits,"<sup>5</sup> i.e. in Armenia. Chardin held the same view, though making only a passing reference to the problem by noting that:

Holy Scripture calls Armenia Ararac wherever It speaks of it. It is one of the most beautiful and fertile lands of Asia. Seven large rivers water it; and this, in my opinion, is the reason which obliges most interpreters of the Old Testament to place the Terrestrial Paradise there.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>Cartwright, pp. 89-91; Coryat, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup>Tournefort, p. 324/p. 243, "il faut nécessairement le placer dans ces belles vallées de Georgie, d'où l'on apporte toutes sortes de fruits à Erzeron."

<sup>6</sup>Chardin, II, p. 158:

L'Ecriture Sainte appelle l'Arménie, Ararac, partout où elle en parle. C'est un des plus beaux et des plus fertiles pays de l'Asie. Sept grands fleuves l'arrosent; et c'est la raison, à mon avis, qui oblige la plupart des interprètes du Vieux-Testament à y placer le paradis terrestre.

The area around Erzurum was Avril's choice, one reason being that there he saw three rivers out of

the four that Holy Scripture assures us to have watered [sic] the Terrestrial Paradise.

If Nile, which rises out of the Mountains of the Moon in Africa, were one of those Rivers, as some Interpreters have conjectur'd, it is a very difficult thing to determine where that delicious Garden should be, where God plac'd the First Parents of Mankind. But certain it is, that a more advantageous situation cannot be pick'd out by Mortal Eyes, then that of this City where we have made choice of for the settlement of our new Mission.<sup>7</sup>

The Jesuit Père Villotte also concluded that Armenia was the most likely site for Eden. Among the possibilities he examined and dismissed were Ceylon, Sumatra, the Canary Islands, Mesopotamia and Palestine, none of which met the crucial requirement of appropriate rivers.<sup>8</sup> Armenia (and Georgia) did have the proper physical features, including the all-important rivers of the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, and the Kura.<sup>9</sup> Villotte even took his digression one step further by deciding that "the Terrestrial Paradise still exists, but stripped of all the embellishments which in the beginning made it the most delightful and the most beautiful place

<sup>7</sup>Avril, p. 50/p. 45:

des quatre que l'Ecriture sainte assure avoir autrefois arrosé le Paradis terrestre.

Si le Nil qui prend sa source dans les Montagnes de la Lune qui sont en Affrique, est un de ces fleuves, comme quelques Interprètes l'ont crû, il est bien difficile de déterminer au vray, où pouvoit être ce lieu de délices, où Dieu plaça le premier homme. Quoiqu'il en soit on ne peut guere voir de situation plus avantageuse que celle de cette Ville que nous choisismes pour l'établissement de nôtre nouvelle Mission.

<sup>8</sup>Villotte, pp. 52-54.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

in the world."<sup>10</sup>

Finally, Père Philippe proceeded similarly, testing successive possibilities with the evidence of Scripture and rejecting, in turn, the entire earth, the moon, specific places such as Palestine near the Jordan river, Sodom, etc., and Mesopotamia or Armenia. This last place, although more likely, had nevertheless to be rejected due to the need for four rivers.<sup>11</sup> The place which Père Philippe finally accepted and where he located the Terrestrial Paradise was on Mt. Ararat itself. The four rivers which supported his assumption were the same as Villotte's: the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes and the Kura.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, while the prospect of passing through the Terrestrial Paradise does not seem to have overly excited most of our travellers, none of them fail to notice or discuss Père Philippe's choice for its location. Ararat was there for all to see and inquire about, and, judging from the accounts we have, the local guides were quite capable of supplementing whatever observations their employers made.

Our earliest traveller, Newbery, who seldom exerted his descriptive powers to the fullest, related

And about ten miles to the North-west of this Village,<sup>13</sup> is Noahs Arke upon a Mountayne, which is somewhat high, and hath alwayes Snow lying upon it, and no man may goe up it: But they say that Saint Jokemo went up to the top, and in the Armenian tongue it is called Asse Masis. And at the foot of

---

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 56, "le Paradis terrestre subsiste encore, mais dépouillé de tous les ornemens qui en faisoient au commencement l'endroit du monde le plus délicieux & le plus beau."

<sup>11</sup>Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, pp. 162-165.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Potta, two stages south of Erevan and, so far, unidentifiable.

this Mountayne, is a Church of the Armenians.<sup>14</sup>

In this brief passage, Newbery summarizes the main points concerning Ararat which, as we shall see, travellers before and since have found worthy of mention.

The story of the impossibility of ascending Ararat has itself a long history and has been told to and repeated by travellers for well over seven hundred years. The first European who seems to mention it is Friar William of Rubruck, travelling overland to the Court of Mangu Khan in Karakorum in 1253. While passing through Armenia, he noted that the mountains of the Ark were nearby and that:

Many have tried to climb it, but none has been able.  
This bishop told me that there had been a monk who was most

<sup>14</sup>Newbery, p. 469. This passage is very interesting. One often wonders in which languages travellers communicated, and the very few references, though inconclusive, suggest the likelihood of French and Italian as being the major ones, with the latter more common. Evidence which points to the use of Italian can be found in Daulier-Deslandes, p. 51/p. 27, "many of them [Armenians] speak Italian and even French, especially the little boys who are taught by the Jesuit Fathers, in their beautiful home there, . . ." See also Tavernier's similar remark, Voyages en Perse, Monteil edn, p. 79: "There are some Armenians who also speak Italian, and even French, which they learn in the voyages they make to Europe." The Spanish cleric, ambassador, and world-traveller, Pedro Sebastiano Cubero, who was in Qazvin circa 1675, had an Armenian interpreter who was fluent in Italian. See his Peregrinacion del Mundo del Doctor D. Pedro Cubero Sebastiano, Predicador Apostolico (Naples: 1682), p. 224. Thus, Newbery's reference to "Saint Jokemo" offers the probability that, at least in this case, Italian was being used, since the Armenian tradition identifies the monk as one Yakob, or James, of Nisibis. Jokemo is easily seen to be Giacomo, the Italian version of the name. For a full treatment of James of Nisibis see Paul Peeters, "La légende de sainte Jacques de Nisibe," Analecta Bollandiana XXXVIII (1920), 285-373. In Armenian "Asse Masis" [As ē Masis] means more correctly "This is Masis," Masis being the Armenian name for Ararat. One can easily visualize the curious Newbery asking his guide about the mountain and being told, in a mixture of Italian and Armenian, "This is Masis" and dutifully noting it all down.

desirous (of climbing it), but that an angel appeared to him bearing a piece of the wood of the ark, and told him to try no more. They had this piece of wood in his church, they told me. This mountain did not seem to me so very high, that men could not ascend it. An old man gave me quite a good reason why one ought not to try to climb it. They call the mountain Massis, and it is of the feminine gender in their language. "No one," he said, "ought to climb up Massis; it is the mother of the world."<sup>15</sup>

Friar Odoric of Pordenone, who passed through Armenia around 1320 made no mention of James and even suggested:

I would fain have ascended it, if my companions would have waited for me. But the folk of the country told us that no one ever could ascend the mountain, for this, as it is said, hath seemed not to be the pleasure of the Most High.<sup>16</sup>

His contemporary Friar Jordanus reported:

In Armenia the Greater I saw one great marvel. This is it: a mountain of excessive height and immense extent, on which Noah's ark is said to have rested. This mountain is never without snow, and seldom or never without clouds, which rarely rise higher than three parts up. The mountain is inaccessible, and there never has been anybody who could get further than the edge of the snow. And (marvelous indeed!) even the beasts chased by the huntsmen, then they come to the snow, will liefer turn, will liefer yield them into the huntsmen's hands, than go farther up the mountain.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>William of Rubruck, The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-55, William Woodville Rockhill, ed. and trans. (London: 1900), pp. 269-270. Rubruck clearly received wrong information here as Armenian has no gender. The reference to Ararat as "mother of the world" recalls other such appellations around the world, such as the Tibetan name for Mount Everest -- Chomolongma, "Goddess Mother of the World," cf. G. O. Dyhrenfurth, "A Note on the Spelling of Tibetan Place-Names," in Toni Hagen, et al, eds., Mount Everest, E. Noel Bowman, trans. (London: 1963), p. ix.

<sup>16</sup>Odoric of Pordenone, "Travels", in Henry Yule, trans. and ed., Cathay and the Way Thither, II (London: 1913, repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: 1967), p. 102.

<sup>17</sup>Jordanus, The Wonders of the East, Henry Yule, trans. and ed. (London: 1863), p. 3.

On the other hand, Marco Polo simply remarked that

it is in this country of Armenia that the Ark of Noah exists on the top of a certain great mountain on the summit of which snow is so constant that no one can ascend; for the snow never melts, and is constantly added to by new falls.<sup>18</sup>

But the story of the monk James persists in various forms, even if it is not universally told. Thus we find it in the pages of John Mandeville, who probably borrowed it whole from Vincent of Beauvais.<sup>19</sup> Note that this version has been slightly embellished in comparison to those we have just seen:

And there besyde is another hille that men clepen Ararath (but the Iewes clepen it Taneez) where Noes schipp rested, and yit is vpon that montayne and men may seen it aferr in cleer weder. And that montayne is wel a vii. myle high. And sum men seyn that thei han seen and touched the schipp and put here fynghes in the parties where the feend went out whan that Noe seyde Benedicite. But thei that seyn such wordes seyn here wille. For a man may not gon vp the montayne for gret plentee of snow that is alleweys on that montayne, nouthur somer ne wynter, so that no man may gon vp there; ne neuere man dide sithe the tyme of Noe saf a monk that be the grace of God broughte on of the plankes doun, that yit is in the mynstre at the foot of the montayne.

And besyde is the cytee of Dayne that Noe founded. And faste by is the cytee of Any, in the whiche were wont to ben a m. chirches. But vpon that montayne to gon vp this monk had gret desir. And so vpon a day he went vp. And whan he was vpward the iii. part of the montayne, he was so wery that he myghte no ferther, and so rested him and felle oslepe. And whan he awook, he fonde himself liggynge at the foot of the montayne. And than he preyed devoutly to God that he wolde vouchsaf to suffre him gon vp. And an angelle cam to him and seyde that he scholde gon vp, and so he dide. And sith that tyme neuer

---

<sup>18</sup>Marco Polo, The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian, Henry Yule, trans., 2nd edn., I (London: 1875), p. 47.

<sup>19</sup>Malcolm Letts, ed. and trans., Mandeville's Travels, I (London: 1953), p. 106, n. 2. The passage in question is from Vincent of Beauvais' Speculum Historiale, which comprises volume IV of his Speculum Quadruplex sive Speculum Maius (Douai: 1624, repr. Graz: 1964-1965), XXX, xcvi, 1266, "De vastatione Armeniorum." James is not mentioned by name therein.

non; wherefore men scholde not beleeeve suche woordes.<sup>20</sup>

Within the space of a century, then, from Rubruck's time to Mandeville's (which was mid-fourteenth century) we have the appearance of several variants of this Ararat legend. On the one hand, all of these medieval travellers indicate that Ararat is believed to be inaccessible, although Rubruck thought it might be climbable and Odoric felt he himself could do it. On the other hand, the story of Saint James is not repeated everywhere, nor is there agreement on the number of attempts he made. Nevertheless the legend continues to be cited in one form or another from the Middle Ages through our period and up to the present day.

Further, the association of the Ark with Ararat and the tradition that remnants of it still exist thereon have an even longer history, and one which, to judge by the newspapers, still persists.<sup>21</sup> Already in the latter half of the first century AD we find the Jewish historian Josephus quoting Berosus the Chaldean to the effect that "'It is, said, moreover, that a portion of the vessel still survives in Armenia on the mountain of Cordyaeans, and that persons carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they use as talismans."<sup>22</sup> The "Cordyaeans" were in Korduenē [also Korduk',

<sup>20</sup>Sir John Mandeville, Mandeville's Travels, M. C. Seymour, ed. (Oxford: 1967), p. 109. Variants can be found in Sir John Mandeville, The Voiage and Trauaile of Syr Iohn Maundeile Knight (London: 1932), pp. 148-149, and M. Letts, ed., Mandeville's Travels, I, pp. 106-107 and II, p. 313, for a French version.

<sup>21</sup>Everett R. Holles, "Turk Sanction Reported for Noah's Ark Search," New York Times, 14 January 1974, p. 8, reported that the San Diego-based Institute for Creation Research, which is supported by the Baptist Church, has permission to send an eight-man expedition to Ararat in June or July. The expedition, led by John Morris, the son of the President of the Institute, hopes to bring back remnants of the Ark to "prove that the Old Testament version of creation is historical fact."

<sup>22</sup>Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, H. St. J. Thackeray, trans., Loeb Classical Library, vol. IV (London: 1930), BK. I, 93-94, p. 45. Isidore



etc.], now Kurdistan; Muslim tradition attributes the Ark's resting place to Jabal Judi in the mountains of Kurdistan, where the mosque of Noah was supposed to have still been visible on the summit.<sup>23</sup>

The legend of St. James presents greater difficulties, however. As we have seen, while Ararat was generally recognized as the purported resting place of the Ark, the story of St. James was not so common. In addition, as Peeters suggests, it is possible, in fact necessary, to discern between tradition received first-hand and "erudition" or learned tradition received through earlier accounts.<sup>24</sup> In other words, whose story was actually heard in Armenia and whose was read and repeated from a book? Are we dealing with eye-witness accounts or "book-learning"? Peeters feels that Rubruck's version was acquired first-hand and cites its similarity to the earliest Armenian version of the tradition in the pages of P'awstos Buzand.<sup>25</sup> Evidence for this assertion lies in Rubruck's use of

---

of Seville in the early seventh century passes the story on in his Etymologiarium sive originum, W. M. Lindsay, ed., II (Oxford: 1911), BK. XIV, 8, 5.

<sup>23</sup>On Korduenē, see Nicholas Adontz, Armenia in the Period of Justinian, Nina G. Garsoian, ed. and trans. (Lisbon: 1970), p. 165\*, which gives several other references. For the Ark on Jabal Judi see Benjamin of Tudela, p. 33, "Omar ben al-Khataab [i.e. the second khalifa, 'Umar, 634-644] took the ark from the two mountains and made it into a mosque for the Mohammedans," and ibid., n. 5, where the editor refers to the Qur'ān, XI, 46: "and the Ark settled on El-Judi" [The Koran Interpreted, A. J. Arberry, trans. (London: 1964)]. For a more extensive treatment of the problem of the Ark see Peeters, "Jacques de Nisibe," 318-320, especially 320, n. 3, on the Islamic tradition. This dual tradition arises from the confusion of Urartu with Ararat, caused by textual corruptions and misreadings in the Old Testament. See e.g. Boris B. Piotrovsky, Urartu, James Hogarth, trans., Ancient Civilizations Series (London: 1969), p. 13.

<sup>24</sup>Peeters, "Jacques de Nisibe," 330.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 330, 313-316, where a Latin translation of this version is provided from P'awstos' Patmut' iwn Hayoc [History of Armenia] (Venice: 1862), I, x, pp. 22-26.

the Armenian name Masis at a time when knowledge of that term could only have been acquired first-hand.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, Peeters shows that Vincent of Beauvais, although not himself a visitor to Armenia, was making use of primary material in his account.<sup>27</sup>

In any event, it is not my intention to dwell any longer on the origins of the legend but rather to show how extensively one or another of its versions appeared in the pages of seventeenth century travel literature. Such a demonstration ought to provide both a worthy test of the historical validity of these works and a solid basis for showing the appearance and continuance of the image of Armenia as the resting place of the Ark. Along the way, one should note the persistent use by our later travellers of expressions such as "It is said" or "It is believed" in conjunction with the presence of the Ark on Ararat. So striking is their continued use that one begins to think of them less as stylistic devices and more as literal expressions of some skepticism or, at the very least, hesitation, to declare categorically one's acceptance of these stories. I am thus coming to see these usages as perhaps evidence in this period of a higher degree of rationality and historicism than existed previously and which is usually thought to be more a product of the eighteenth century and later. It should be pointed out, however, that at this stage, I am merely suggesting that we look at these sources with greater care in this regard to see if any other evidence might be found in support of such a notion.

We have already seen Newbery's version of the Ararat legend and

---

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 330.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 330-334. Peeters suggests the possibility that Vincent heard the story from other Dominicans who had been in Armenia and Georgia.

should note here that he seems to be the first one to mention James by name. This fact plus his use of the Armenian name Masis, especially in the form he transmitted it, should suffice to substantiate our contention that he was presenting a living tradition. It is also worth observing that while he introduced the story of James as a local belief, he referred to the presence of the Ark as fact.

John Cartwright offers the next discussion of Ararat, clothing his version in an interesting combination of erudition and first-hand reports. He first presented the story of the Flood and Noah's Ark, complete with references to Berosus and the use of pitch from the Ark as talismans; in other words, he borrowed Josephus' account, with which, as a "Preacher", he would presumably be familiar.<sup>28</sup> He mentioned the existence of parts of the Ark a second time and then, to verify their existence, added that:

some Friars of St. Gregories Monastery told vs, that euen at this day some part of the Arke is yet to bee seene on the toppe of this mountaine, if any could ascend thither; but the way (as they say) is kept by Angels, so that who-soeuer shall presume to goe vp (as once a Brother of that Monastery did) shall be brought downe in the night season, from the place which hee had gained by his trauaile in the day time before. But to leaue this fable to the first inuentor, it sufficeth vs that here amongst these mountaines the Arke rested, vpon the Mountaines of Arraret, which is expounded by all Writers to be in Armenia.<sup>29</sup>

So Cartwright clearly did not believe the legend of Saint James, but at the same time, and again as one would expect, he accepted not only the story of the Ark but its location in Armenia. His travelling companion, Midnall, made no mention of any of these matters.

The next Westerner to report his travels in Armenia, Georg Tectander

<sup>28</sup>Cartwright, pp. 33-34.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

von der Jabel, likewise did not mention Ararat or the Ark, though he did refer to "mountains so high that the summits are covered with snow all year."<sup>30</sup> Tom Coryat did only slightly better, planning, as we have seen, to return to Europe by way of "the mountaine Ararat, where Noahs arke rested."<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, this is his only reference, though it does plainly display Coryat's belief in the testimony of the Bible.

Observations on Ararat were not limited to travellers within the strict confines of Armenia as we have delimited it, however. The next description comes from the well-known Adam Olearius,<sup>32</sup> who passed near Ararat in 1637. He, too, accepted Ararat as the site of the Ark:

Mount Ararat, upon which Noah's Ark rested after the deluge, . . . is without comparison much higher than the Caucasus, and is indeed but a great black Rock, without any verdure, and cover'd with Snow on the top, as well in

<sup>30</sup>Tectander, p. 62, "des montagnes si hautes que les sommets sont couverts de neige toute l'annee."

<sup>31</sup>Coryat, "Letter IV: To his Loving Mother," in Foster, Early Travels, p. 260. See above, Chapter Two, p. 57.

<sup>32</sup>Olearius, or Oelschlager (1603-1671), was the Secretary on the embassies sent by Frederick, Duke of Holstein to Russia and Persia between 1633 and 1639. It was with the second of these missions, lasting from October, 1635, to August, 1639, that Olearius reached Persia, after descending the Volga to Astrakhan and traversing the Caspian Sea to Shamākhā. From there the embassy proceeded overland through Ardabīl, Qazvin and Qum to Isfahan; they returned over the same route. Much of Olearius' life after his return home in 1639 was spent in preparing the many editions of his work, Muskowitische oft begehrte Beschreibung der neuen orientalischen Reise an der König von Persien (Sleswick: 1647), translated into English by John Davies of Kidwelly as, The Voyages & Travels of the Ambassadors from the Duke of Holstein to the Great Duke of Muscovy, and The King of Persia (London: 1662), which is the edition used herein. For a more detailed survey of Olearius' life and work, as well as a new translation of the Russian portion of his book, see Samuel H. Baron, trans. and ed., The Travels of Olearius in Seventeenth-Century Russia (Stanford, California: 1967), especially the "Preface", pp. vii-xiii, and the "Introduction," pp. 3-30. See also F. Wilson, ed., Muscovy, pp. 68-76.

Summers as Winter, by means where of it is discover'd fifteen Leagues into the Caspian Sea. The Armenians and the Persians themselves, are of opinion [sic], that there are still upon the said Mountain some remainders of the Ark, but that Time hath so hardened them, that they seem absolutely petrify'd.<sup>33</sup>

He went on to describe a relic from the Ark, shown to his party at Sham-ākḥā, which was "a Crosse of a black and hard Wood . . . wrapp'd in Crimson Taffata," and he concluded by noting that Ararat "is now inaccessible, by reason of the precipices whereby it is encompass'd of all sides."<sup>34</sup>

The earliest trace of hesitation appears for the first time in the pages of Père Philippe, who suggested that the Armenians cite Ararat as the resting place of the Ark "by a successive tradition from father to son,"<sup>35</sup> and that this is why they honor the mountain so and point it out when it comes into view. He, too, described Ararat's perpetual snow-cap and the impossibility of reaching the summit, "although many have tried."<sup>36</sup> He then proceeded to tell the story of James in essentially the same form as we have already seen it, though he did change a few details and added a bit of dialogue. His use of the phrase "they relate" ["ils racontent"] with reference to the Armenians, coupled with his earlier mention of Ararat's having been pointed out to his party when it first arrived, suggests again the relation of a living tradition received at first hand, though it is always possible that he (or any other authorities) could couple these events with later erudition. In any event, his version varies from

---

<sup>33</sup>Olearius, Voyages and Travels, p. 187.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, p. 161, "par vne tradition successive de pere en fils."

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 161, "quoy que plusieurs l'ayent tente."

earlier ones in that James was making his ascent during the night, "as quickly as possible,"<sup>37</sup> and miraculously found himself back at the foot of the mountain at sunrise; he was then visited by an Angel with a piece of the Ark in hand who gave it to him, saying: "Take the relics you desire; no mortals are permitted to ascent the Mountain."<sup>38</sup>

We have reached that point in the transmission of this tradition where our various sources begin to include expressions of qualification regarding the association of the Ark with Ararat. True, it is unlikely that we are dealing here with anything more serious than a growing skepticism of Ararat as the landing place of Noah; understandably, no one yet seems ready to challenge the historical reality of the Flood and the Ark themselves. Still, as we shall see, there is a significant shift in the tone of most of the rest of the accounts, and this shift appears approximately in the middle of the seventeenth century.

La Boullaye-Le-Gouz, whose work was first published in 1653, was the first to express more serious doubts about Ararat. He began by stating that it was the Jews, Armenians and Muslims who claim that the Ark came to rest upon Ararat; "Holy Scripture," he added, "says only on the mountains of Armenia, without specifying any of them."<sup>39</sup> He next suggests that although the wine of that area, which the Persians called "Eriuan Scharabi" [Erevan Wine], was the best in all Asia, there were no olive trees at all and wonders about the dove with the olive branch. Unfortunately, he drops the discussion at this point, perhaps fearing he had gone

---

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 161-162, "avec la plus grand vitesse qui luy fut possible."

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 162, "Prend les reliques que tu souhaites, il n'est permis à aucun des mortels de monter sur la Montagne."

<sup>39</sup>La Boullaye-Le-Gouz, p. 82, "l'Escriture Saincte dit seulement sur les montagnes d'Armenie, sans en specifier aucune."

too far.<sup>40</sup> Instead he proceeds directly to the legend of James, after again pointing out that the Ark's refuge on Ararat and its inaccessibility is an Armenian tradition. His version includes one or two additions and concludes with a rather healthy (for the times) dose of skepticism:

One of their Vertabetes,<sup>41</sup> a man of saintly life, wanted to go there, and arrived at the middle of the mountain, as can be seen in this Figure,<sup>42</sup> and being thirsty, prayed, and God brought forth a fountain which said to him, that no one was bold enough to ascend the height of the Mountain seeing that no man now living was worthy of it. Several persons have been lost there because they were too curious, not that I imagine that it would be prohibited from going there, but if it is a Holy place as they say, one would have to go there with the steps of Moses. I believe that the whole of the danger lies in the precipices of snow into which one could fall, there being no clear path.<sup>43</sup>

The Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes, whose work appeared the year after his friend, La Boullaye's, makes no mention of the legend of James. This omission is all the more curious when it is remembered that Rhodes

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>41</sup>Arm. Vardapet = learned cleric.

<sup>42</sup>A reference to the charming engraving on p. 85 showing Ararat, the Ark on the summit, and an Armenian bishop praying below. A description of the scene is provided on p. 86.

<sup>43</sup>La Boullaye, p. 86:

vn de leurs Vertabetes, homme de sainte vie, y voulut aller, & paruint iusques au milieu de la montagne, comme l'on voit dans cette Figure, & venant à manquer d'eau, fit sa priere, & Dieu fit naistre vne fontaine qui luy dist, qu' aucun ne fust si temeraire de monter au haut de la montagne, veuque nul homme viuant n'en estoit digne: Plusieurs personnes s'y sont perduës par trop de curiosité, non que ie m' imagine qu'il soit deffendu d'y aller, si c'est vn lieu Saint comme ils disent, il y faut aller avec les pieds de Moyse: Je croy que tout le danger consiste aux precipices de neiges où on peut, tomber niy ayant aucun chemin frayé.

spent several months in Erevan and Ejmiacin, more than enough time for the legend to have been told. However that may be, he presents a brief and matter-of-fact account, probably accepting the claims of Ararat as the mountain of the Ark but not believing that it could be known whether parts were still there. He calls it "the big mountain said to be the one where Noah's ark came to rest after the flood, and truly it's so high no one can go to the top without manifest danger to his life because of the intense cold there. . . . The snows there last all year. They say a part of Noah's ark still remains on the crest, but I find it hard to believe in as much as they say nobody can get near."<sup>44</sup> He then concludes with another interesting legend, whose only mention is in his work: After expressing his doubts about the possibility of ascending Ararat, he adds "No more do I believe what a nevertheless sober person told me, namely that at the foot of the mountain where Noah is said to have offered his sacrifice there is a spot where trees are seen whose only fruit is crosses."<sup>45</sup>

Rhodes' relatively more traditional acceptance of Ararat does not, it seems to me, significantly damage my suggestion concerning the increasing skepticism of travellers as the seventeenth century wore on. One would expect that, as a group, clerics would tend to be among the last to question these traditions -- and as we proceed this will become more obvious.

In the 1650's, two travellers passed through Armenia and left records of it. The first of these two, Niccolao Manucci, has nothing to add

<sup>44</sup>Rhodes, p. 438/p. 228.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., "aussi peu croy-je ce que pourtant vn graue personnage me dit, qu'au pied de la montagne où l'on tient que Noë fit son sacrifice, il y a vn endroit où se voyent des arbres qui n'ont point d'autres fruits que des Croix."



beyond noting that "They say that it was on this mountain that the ark of Noah rested. At a distance of some ten leagues from the town [of Erevan] the mountain looked as if entirely covered with ice on its summit, and when the sun shone on it, its appearance was splendid."<sup>46</sup>

On the contrary, Pouillet, the second of these two, has a good deal to say about Ararat. He suggests his first doubts when he refers to the mountain as "where it is claimed that the Ark of Noah has rested in its entirety since the flood."<sup>47</sup> He then displays his skepticism more fully by asserting that

If one wants to take pleasure in reading fables, it is necessary only to write down those which the people of the land and an infinite number of travellers, who have however never come within two hundred leagues of this mountain, relate to us about its subject, and on the subject of the Ark, and on the miracles which have been performed there.<sup>48</sup>

Pouillet then summarizes the legend of James, almost certainly picked up from La Boullaye,<sup>49</sup> and dismisses it by linking it with a "thousand other

<sup>46</sup>Manucci, p. 17.

<sup>47</sup>Pouillet, II, pp. 129-130, "où on pretend que l'arche de Noë est encore restée en son entier depuis le deluge."

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 130:

Si on veut prendre plaisir à lire des fables, il ne faut qu'escrire celles que les gens du pays & vne infinité de voyageurs, qui toutefois ne sont iamais approchez qu'à deux cent lieux de cette montagne, nous debittent à son suiet, & au suient de l'arche, & des miracles qui s'y sont operez.

<sup>49</sup>The clue to this borrowing is in Pouillet's reference [II, p. 130] to those people, prompted by "devotion and zeal" to seek the Ark, who "dare" to attempt the ascent of Ararat, and who were then either punished or returned to its foot. The accounts are remarkably similar and since, by the time of Pouillet's writing in the mid-1660's, La Boullaye's book had gone through two successful editions, it is quite likely Pouillet had read it, though his apparent hostility is mystifying.

musings which can only have been uttered by those who have already related an infinity of others to us, and who have given us a thousand tales from this land, without having ever passed by there."<sup>50</sup>

After briefly discussing the reason for Ararat's apparent loftiness -- it is the highest feature of the countryside and has no other mountain around it to obstruct the view -- and suggesting that it is really "only twice as high as Mont Valerien near Paris,"<sup>51</sup> he concludes that it would be a rather easy matter to reach the summit, there being no further obstacles other than "the fear of the Angel or the Demon who guards over the Ark."<sup>52</sup> And this fear, he admits,

would have done little to restrain my wish to climb it; but when I saw the mountain and the amount of snow covering its summit, which blocked its access, I changed my mind and preferred to believe in miracles without going to see them.<sup>53</sup>

Ever the man of reason and sophistication, Pouillet has made sure we will not forget it. Moreover, to ensure further our awareness of his skepticism, he concludes his treatment of Ararat in these words:

---

<sup>50</sup>Pouillet, II, p. 130, "mille autres réueries qui ne peuuent auoir esté débitées que par ceux qui nous en ont desia conte vne infinité d'autres, & qui nous ont donné mille relations de ces pays, sans y auoir iamais passé."

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 131, "n'a que deux fois la hauteur du mont Valerien qui est proche de Paris;" Pouillet, as usual, is indulging in a bit of hyperbole, since the comparative heights of Ararat and the Mont Valerien are 5,165 meters (16,945 feet) and 161 meters (528 feet) respectively. Cf. Grand LaRousse Encyclopédie, I, 525 and X, 650.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., "la crainte de l'Ange ou du Demon qui est à la garde de l'arche."

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., pp. 131-132:

aurait peu retenu l'enuie que i'auois d'y monter; mais lors que ie vis la montagne & la quantité des neiges dont elle est couverte à sa cime, & qui en deffend l'accès [sic]; ie changeay de resolution, & ie voulus croire aux miracles sans y aller voir.

It is true that Ararat seems to be the highest mountain among those around it, but it has so little breadth at its tip that I can scarcely understand how the waters could have been dispersed quickly enough in the time that the Ark was above this mountain, to have left it at the given moment on such a small space.<sup>54</sup>

In Pouillet's case it is difficult to determine the extent to which his comments are based on first-hand reports and observations and how much of it is a response to the learning of the times. As has been indicated above, it seems likely that he was criticizing La Boullaye's account of the legend of St. James, though that would in no way preclude his having encountered the legend in Armenia as well. Still, the entire tone of this section, indeed of most of his work, suggests a strong desire to establish his bona fides as a scholar and critic, both through his knowledge of scholarly opinion and his own observations -- superficial and often incorrect though they were. Whatever the case, he is without doubt the best representative so far of the increasingly skeptical attitudes toward our legends.

Our thesis concerning these developing attitudes now receives a minor -- albeit temporary -- setback since both of our next witnesses accept Ararat as the refuge of the Ark. Johann Grueber, the Jesuit who returned from China and Tibet through Armenia in 1662, mentions only that Ararat is inaccessible because of its heights and its eternal covering of snow and promises to deal with Ararat at a later time, God willing, "because

---

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 132:

Il est vray que l'Ararat paroist la plus haute montagne d'entre celles qui sont autour d'elle, mais elle a si peu de largeur à son extremité d'enhaut que i'ay peine à comprendre comment les eaux peuuent s'estre écoulées assez promptement dans le temps que l'arche estoit au dessus de cette montagne, pour l'auoir à point nommé laissée sur vn si petit espace.

Noah's Ark provides much material."<sup>55</sup>

Grueber's brevity is understandable, given the form in which his observations exist in Kircher's work, but what is one to think of Tavernier's remarkable tersity on this subject? Is it possible that this jeweller who travelled so extensively through Armenia has so little to say about Ararat? Unfortunately, given his work, we must accept this as so. On his first mention of Ararat he merely states that "Noah's Ark which rested on its summit made it forever famous,"<sup>56</sup> and promised a further description subsequently. When he does provide this description several pages later he merely repeats his belief that this was where the Ark came to a rest and points out that the upper half is perpetually snow-covered, as well as having an extensive cloud cover for much of the time.<sup>57</sup> The only other tradition or legend he relates is one which will be dealt with in its turn farther on. There is no mention whatsoever of the legend of St. James or of the impossibility (or the possibility, for that matter) of ascending it; it is a curious omission by one who usually cites a good deal of interesting and worthwhile information on his subjects.

Our next "authority" (and the word is used advisedly) proves better than any other traveller (including even Poulet) the validity of the proverb cited at the beginning of the opening chapter. One struggles to discern the slightest bit of evidence to support his fantastic claims.

---

<sup>55</sup>Grueber, In A. Kircher, S.J., ed., *China Illustrata*, p. 86/*La Chine Illustrée*, p. 115, "quod Arca Noë inscribitur, uberrima dabitur discurrendi materia."/"parce que l'Arche de Noë nous en fournira une ample matière." So far as I can determine, Grueber never produced his promised treatment of Ararat.

<sup>56</sup>Tavernier, p. 33, "l'Arche de Noë qui s'arresta sur sa cime rendra à jamais fameux".

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 38.

Yet Jan Struys stands squarely in the line of beliefs we have been tracing, believing in the presence of the Ark on Ararat -- because he was given a piece of it -- and disbelieving in the mountain's inaccessibility -- because he climbed it! Struys, it will be recalled, was the Dutchman in Russian service captured by Tatars near Erevan who was taken to Ararat to cure the hernia of a monk.

His first description of the mountain is acceptable enough:

It is a blew, and dark-coloured Rock. I have found there a kind of a dark yellow Mineral, very ponderous, and sparkling; but I could never learn what mettall it would have produced if melted, nor that of a sparkling Sand and Dust, which I also found here. . . . This Mountain is for the most barren, and without Earth.<sup>58</sup>

But once Struys begins his ascent, our credulity becomes taxed; his account is provided not only for its entertainment value but also to illustrate that aspect of travel literature which leads to such low opinions of it as those evidenced in the Introduction.<sup>59</sup>

Thus I undertook the Journey, and was seven days before I came to the Hermites Cell, travailing every day 5 Miles, which we reckoned for a good days journey, the more, in regard that the higher we came, the steeper we found the Hill. At every 5 Miles end we found a Hermitage, where we were supplied with a Peasant and an Ass, to carry our Provision, and Wood for Fuel, because that about the middle of the Mountain it is so extreme cold, that Ice of half a nights freezing, will bear man and horse. In our Journey upwards, we passed through three sorts of clouds. The first were thick, misty and dark. The second were cold and like snow, although it was then perfect summer below in the Valleys, and so warm that the Grapes were very early ripe. The third sort were so cold, that we could hardly endure any longer, and thought verily that we should have grown still, and not able to proceed on our Journey. But

---

<sup>58</sup>Struys, p. 214.

<sup>59</sup>We must give Struys his due; apparently his account is considered a useful source for the life of Stenka Razin. See S. Kononov, "Ludwig Fabritius's Account of the Razin Rebellion," Oxford Slavonic Papers, VI (1955), 72.

having now travailed 4 days, and had passed through the highest and coldest clouds, we found the Air very temperate and tolerable. On the 7 of that Moneth, we arrived at the Hermites house, which was hewen out of a Rock, the Weather being there so moderate and gentle as man can imagine, or heart can wish; neither more hot than might very well be endured, nor yet more cold than was expectible and congruous to humane constitution. The sun enlivened us with thwarting beams, which were again refracted, with the refreshing gales of Wind; the Wind correcting the Sun, the Sun the Wind. The Hermite told me he had lived there 25 years, and never had seen the Weather any otherwise. But on the top of the Hill, it was yet more calm, where as none can remember that the Air there did ever change, or was subject either to Wind or Rain, which is presumed to be the reason that the Arke has endured so long without being rotten.<sup>60</sup>

Struys cured the hermit, of course, and received a Latin testimonial for his troubles. The paraphrase provided in the English edition follows:

In as much as Iohn Iohnson [Struys] desired me, I could not refuse to give him a Testimonial, how that he the said I. I. was with me upon the Holy mount Ararat, about 35 miles high, where the said Iohn cured me of a grievous Rupture, and acknowledge myself greatly obliged to him, for his Care and Diligence in the same. And further to manifest my thankfullness towards him, I have given him a Cross, being of the wood of the real Ark of Noah, which I have cut out of a Chamber of the said Ark with my own hands, having been there personally myself: as I have verbally demonstrated to the said Iohn I. after what manner the said Ark is made. Besides this I have given him a Stone, which with my own hand I have pulled from under the Ark, being a part of the Rock, whereon it is supported. All this I testify to be true, and so true as I live in this my holy Hermitage.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup>Struys, pp. 214-215.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., pp. 216-217:

Postquam non potui intermittere ad petitionem Johannis Jansonii, precabatur, ut Testimonium ipsi darem scriptum, quod super-nominatus Joannes Jansonius fuerit apud me in monte Sancto Ararath, circiter triginto quinque miliarium sursum eundo; ubi prae-nominatus Joannes me sanavit ab una magna ruptura; propterea ipsi maximas gratias ago, propter magnam diligentiam, suam quam mihi praestitit: & ipsi pro hac benevolentia donavi unam Crucem quod fuit frustum ligni de vera Archa Noe, ubi in persona intus fui, & illud de quo ista crux est facta propriis meis manibus ab una camera

So, for Struys, the Ark does exist; moreover, since he himself ascended part of it, he "can well assure the Reader that their Opinion is not true, who suppose this Mount to be inaccessible."<sup>62</sup> However, he makes no mention of the story of James and presents his own account in quite a matter-of-fact manner, though it is nevertheless difficult to discern any glimmerings of truth beyond acknowledging the possibility that he might have treated someone on the lower slopes of Ararat and received the objects he says he did.

Jean Chardin, on the other hand, was one of the most learned and careful travellers of all, and while he never openly rejects Ararat as the place of Noah's landing, neither does he ever assert that he believes it. Instead, he first suggests that nearly everyone agrees that Ararat is where the Ark came to rest, but "that no one yet has any solid proof of it."<sup>63</sup> He next mentions its great height but claims to have seen higher mountains in the Caucasus on his journey from the Black Sea to Akhaltsikhe [Acalziké] and then discusses the local names for Ararat.<sup>64</sup>

scidi. Ubi ego Joanni Janson prefectius veritatem narraui quomodo illa Archa est facta. Super hoc ipsi lapidem etiam dedi, quem ipsemet manibus meis decerpsi infra Archam, ubi Archa quiescit. Hoc omne fateor esse verum, tam verum, quam vere ego in ista mea sancta eremitica habitatione de facto vivo.

Datum in monte Ararat,  
die 22 Iulii 1670

DOMINICUS ALEXANDER  
ROMANUS

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>63</sup>Chardin, II, p. 188, "encore que personne n'en ait de preuve solide."

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., pp. 189-190.

Next, Chardin presents his account of the legend of James, in conjunction with which he mentions the Armenian traditions that the Ark still existed on the summit and that it was impossible for any one to go up there. He is also the first to note that James, whom he refers to as "a monk of Ech-miazin", later became bishop of Nisibis.<sup>65</sup> His version of the legend is virtually the same as his predecessors' except that he indicates that James was miraculously returned to his starting point several times. After summarizing the story, he has two things to say about it:

First, that it has no coherence with the relation of ancient authors as Josephus, Berosus, or Nicolaus of Damascus, who assure us that the Remains of the Ark were to be seen, and that the people took the Pitch, with which it was besmeared as an Antidote against Several Distempers. The second, that whereas it is taken for a Miracle that no Body can get up to the Top: I should rather take it for a greater Miracle that any Man should climb up so high. For the Mountain is altogether uninhabited, and from the Halfway to the Top of all, perpetually covered with Snow that never melts, so that all the Seasons of the Year it appears to be a prodigious heap of nothing but Snow.<sup>66</sup>

In good scholarly tradition, then, Chardin is reserving judgement on these questions until more information is available. Again, it is difficult to separate information acquired first-hand from that available in books,

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>66</sup>Translated by James Bryce, Transcaucasia and Ararat, 3rd edn. (London: 1878), p. 207; Chardin, II, pp. 191-192:

la première, qu'il ne s'accorde pas avec le récit des anciens auteurs, comme Joseph, Berosus et Nicolas de Damas, qui assurent que de leur temps on montrait des restes de l'arche, et qu'on prenoit comme un préservatif salutaire, la poudre du bitume dont elle étoit enduite; la seconde; qu'au lieu qu'on fait passer pour miracle, que personne n'ait jamais pu monter au sommet de ce mont, je tiendrois plutôt pour un grand miracle, si quelqu'un y montoit; car ce mont n'a nulle habitation, et du milieu en haut, il est perpétuellement couvert de neiges qui ne fondent jamais, de manière qu'en toute saison il paroît comme quelque prodigieux monceau de neige.



but it seems likely that Chardin was utilizing both, given his bookish and learned orientation.

The Jesuit Philippe Avril who was in Erevan early in 1686, refers to "the famous Mount Ararat, where 'tis believ'd the Ark of Noah rested after the Deluge"<sup>67</sup> and then describes it as "altogether inaccessible," while denouncing the "manifest Contradictions, which it is easy to observe in [the] fabulous Travels" of Jan Struys.<sup>68</sup> Since this is all Avril has to say on the subject of Ararat we need only observe his slight qualification in his use of "l'on croit" and his conviction that Ararat is inaccessible. His assertion that his month-long sojourn in Erevan establishes him as an authority<sup>69</sup> also provides us with a good indication that his information was obtained on the spot.

Eight years later, Gemelli-Careri passed through Armenia and often spoke of Ararat, though he, too, does not mention the story of James. His first glimpse of the mountain on the day he was crossing the Arpaçay into Persian territory merely elucidated the remark that this was "where Noah's ark is said to have rested."<sup>70</sup> Several days later he displayed only a little more skepticism by writing that "a constant tradition deliver'd down to our days, will have it that Noah's ark rested on it."<sup>71</sup> His final

<sup>67</sup>Avril, p. 69/p. 62, "le fameux Mont Ararat, où l'on croit que l'Arche de Noë, s'arrêta après le déluge."

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., pp. 69-70/pp. 62-63, "entièrement inaccessible;" "les contradictions manifestes qu'il est aisé de remarquer dans le Voyage fabuleux."

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>Gemelli-Careri, I, p. 404/p. 103, "dove vogliono, che si fermasse l'Arca di Noe."

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., II, p. 9/p. 105, "Sopra la sua cima, costante fama, pervenuta fino a'di nostri, vuol che posasse l'Arca di Noe."

discussion of it included a more scientific description:

All the while I was at Erevan, I observ'd mount Ararat was always clear in the morning up to the top; but towards evening the many vapours the sun draws, both from the mountain itself, and from the waters on the plain, thicken the air, and it thunders and lightens, and at last the vapours dissolve in rain. It is also to be noted that this mountain is higher than Taurus, or Caucasus, and that being above the first region of the air, and always cover'd with snow, it is as cold as possibly can be.<sup>72</sup>

Based on these observations, Gemelli embarks on a long summary of Struys' account of his adventures, concluding that it was "fabulous" and

An excellent invention of the Dutchman to persuade us the terrestrial paradise is there; but I and all that have seen it, have observ'd the top of it surrounded by a very thick mist, from the evening forwards, as has been said. It is true about the sides of it, there are many hermitages inhabited by religious christians, who endure very much cold, there being not so much as a stump of a tree about the mountain to make fire of.<sup>73</sup>

We are thus finding more and more willingness to question and insist on solid, observable substantiations before accepting any statements; in short, there appears to be a growing spirit of reason, obviously

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., II, p. 15/pp. 106-107:

che io dimorai in Erivan, osservai sempre il monte Ararath la mattina, chiaro fina alla sommità; ma verso la sera, par gli molti vapori, che il Sole attrae così dal monte, come dall'acque del piano, turbarvisi l'aria, balenando, e scoppiando tuoni, e più tardi dileguarsi i vapori in pioggia. Egli si e anche da avvertire, che l'altezza di questo monte eccede quella del Caucaso, e del Tauro; e che sorpassando la prima regione dell'aria, ed essendo sempre coperto di nevi, è freddissimo quanto fare si possa.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., II, p. 16/p. 107

Bellissimo ritrovato dell'Olandese, per far credere, che quivi fia il Paradiso Terrestre: pero io, e tutti quelli, che l'han veduta, l'habbiamo osservata sempre con la cima circondata di densa nebbia, dal vespro fina a sera, ficcome e detto. E' vero bensì, che intorno alla falda vi sono molti Romitorj, abitati da Religiosi Cristiani, i quali sono estremamente tormentati dal freddo, non nascendo sulla montagna ne pure un sterpo per accender fuoco.

attributable to the great scientific advances of the seventeenth century. Gemelli, in particular, is a good representative of this attitude though he, too, could slip from rational into patronizing and superior attitudes, as for example in an episode he relates from the village of T'alin, a day's journey north-west of Erevan on the road from Kars:

Having taken up our lodging in the house of a Christian, as we had done all through Armenia, that is subject to the Turks, a Vertabietto, or Armenian preacher, but to look to, a rude and ignorant clown, came to visit us, who seeing one of our horses sick, fell to blessing of water for him, crossing it, mumbling some words, and making ugly faces, and throwing a needle into it three times, in the most superstitious manner imaginable.<sup>74</sup>

Nevertheless, the rational spirit was growing, and Gemelli, had he heard the story of James, would undoubtedly have given it little credence; likewise, as we have seen, he was not at all convinced that the Ark was then or ever on Ararat.

Only four travellers yet remain to be examined on the subject of Ararat, and two of them, Tournefort and Lucas, relate the legend of James of Nisibis. The two who do not, the Jesuits Monier and Villotte, have less to say on the subject of Ararat, and will be dealt with first.

After pointing out a disagreement in the pages of Villotte and Charadin over whether Ararat is the highest mountain known, Frizon, who edited Villotte's manuscripts, smoothed over this difference by saying that, one way or the other, the mountain certainly was very high. This was so not

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., II, p. 6/p. 104:

Essendo albergati in casa d'un Cristiano (siccome avevamo fatto per tutta l'Armenia soggetta a'Turchi) venne a visitarci un Vertabietto, o Predicatore Armeno (rozzo, ed ignorante villano, per quel che si vedea agli atti, e all'aspetto) il quale, veduto un de' nostri cavalli infermo, cominciò con varie Croci, parole, e bieche guardature a benedirgli l'acqua, lanciendovi dentro tre volte un'ago, colie più superstiziose maniere del Mondo.

only because of Ararat's extreme height above the surrounding countryside but also because Armenia was the most elevated land in the world. Neither did he fail to mention its continual and extensive covering of snow.<sup>75</sup> Finally, the reasons for Ararat's fame were discussed, in a manner which leaves little doubt as to its validity for Villotte:

It was on this famous mountain, according to the tradition of all times and all Nations, that the Ark of Noah rested after the flood; this tradition is all the more certain as it is based on the words of Genesis.<sup>76</sup>

Beyond an initial reference to Ararat as the place where "they say" ["dit-on"] Noah's Ark rested, and the mention of a custom which we shall note later, Monier, by contrast, presented largely a physical picture of the mountain. He noted that there were two summits and that they were usually enshrouded with clouds and fog, which obstructed the view. At the foot there was quicksand interspersed with sparse grass for pasture. Higher up, "there are dreadful black rocks piled up on one another, where, nevertheless, tigers and crows come to feed. One can reach these only with great difficulty because of the steepness of the mountain, the abundance of sand, and the lack of water."<sup>77</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup>Villotte, pp. 80-81. For the most part, Frizon presents Villotte's work in the third person.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 82:

Ce fut sur cette fameuse montagne, selon la tradition de tous les tems & de toutes les Nations, que se reposa l'Arche de Noé après le déluge; tradition d'autant plus certain, qu'elle est fondée sur ces paroles de la Genese.

<sup>77</sup>Monier, in LEC, I, p. 300, "ce sont d'affreux rochers noirs, et entassés les uns sur les autres, où néanmoins des tigres et des corneilles trouvent à se nourrir. On s'y peut parvenir qu'avec d'extrêmes difficultés, à cause de la roideur de la montagne, de l'abondance des sables et du manque d'eau." Tournefort, II, p. 358/p. 267, also referred to a region on Ararat "possess'd by Tygers and Crows." It is possible that Monier, c. his editor, Fleuriau, is echoing him.

The difference in emphasis of these two men -- who probably worked together for a time -- is quite interesting. While both discussed physical aspects, Villotte did so only in passing on his way to his primary, Biblical concern; Monier, on the other hand, focused principally on the reality of Ararat and had only a few words for that aspect for which it is most famous. One can not claim too much significance in this disparity, however, as Monier's brevity and apparent unconcern for the Biblical aspects of Ararat can always be attributed to other factors, e.g. perhaps a feeling that the traditional view had adequately been presented. Regardless, by the beginning of the eighteenth century it certainly seems apparent that stories such as that of James of Nisibis were not very believable to Europeans, and that there were growing doubts about Ararat's famous tradition as well. Tournefort, who was at E<sup>h</sup>miacin and Erevan in the summer of 1701, questioned both.

His suspicions were first aroused while he was travelling from Tiflis to E<sup>h</sup>miacin and observing the countryside, which was "admirably fine" and full of all the important and desirable products one could wish. Among these were various grains, tobacco, rice, cotton, melons, vineyards, etc.<sup>78</sup>

In fact:

There wants nothing but Olives: And I don't see where the Dove which went out of the Ark could find an Olive-Branch, if the Ark be supposed to have rested upon Mount Ararat, or any of the Mountains in Armenia; for this Sort of Trees is not found hereabouts, where the Species must be lost: And yet Olives are known to be a kind of Trees which never die.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 335/p. 251.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., pp. 335-336/p. 251:

Il n'y manque que des Oliviers, & je ne sçai où la Colombe qui sortit de l'Arche fut chercher un rameau d'olivier, supposé que l'Arche se soit arrêtée sur le Mont Ararat, ou sur

It will be recalled that more than fifty years earlier, La Boullaye voiced a similar objection, though his views would not carry the authority of a Tournefort.

While at Eymiacin, Tournefort and his party tried to hire guides to help them in their proposed ascent of Ararat, but were unsuccessful. They therefore proceeded to Erevan, "not so much to see that Place, as, according to the Advice of the Religious of Three-Churches, to pray the Patriarch to appoint us Persons to carry us to Mount Ararat, which we should never have procur'd without his Order."<sup>80</sup> Prior to their departure from Eymiacin, Tournefort described Ararat:

Whatever the Religious here say, 'tis no such wonder that there is no coming at the top, since almost one half of it is covered with Snow frozen hard, and which has lain there ever since the Flood. These good Men believe, as an Article of their faith, that the Ark rested upon this Mountain. If it be the highest in Armenia, according to the Opinion of the People of this Country, it is very certain likewise that it has the greatest quantity of Snow on it of any. That which makes Ararat seem so very high, is, that it stands by it self, in form of a Sugarloaf, in the middle of one of the greatest Plains one can see. We must not judge of its height from the quantity of Snow which covers it, for the Snow even in the hottest Summer lies upon the least Hills in Armenia. If the Monks of Armenia are asked, whether they have any Relicks of the Ark? they very gravely answer, That it lies still buried in the vast heaps of Snow upon Mount Ararat.<sup>81</sup>

---

quelque autre montagne d'Armenie; car on ne voit pas de ces sortes d'arbres aux environs, ou il faut que l'espece se'n soit perduë, cependant les Oliviers sont des arbres immortels.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 340/p. 255, "Ce n'étoit pas seulement dans le dessein de voir la Place, mais aussi pour prier le Patriarche de nous faire donner des voituriers pour le Mont Ararat, suivant le conseil des Religieux des Trois Eglises; & certainement nous n'en aurions pas trouvé sans un ordre de sa part."

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 340/p. 254:

Ce n'est pas une grande merveille, quoiqu'en disent les Religieux, de ne pouvoir pas en atteindre le sommet, puisqu'il est presque à moitié couvert de neige glacée depuis le déluge. Ces

In Erevan, Tournefort had an audience with the "Patriarch" Nahabied, "a good old Man, of a ruddy complexion, who out of Humility, or for his Ease, had nothing on but a mean blue linen Cassock."<sup>82</sup> They kissed his hand as a sign of respect which seemed to please the Kat'olikos greatly; "but", Tournefort added, "we would even have kiss'd his Feet, if we had ever so little suspected that he requir'd it, we had so great need of his Interest."<sup>83</sup> After a "very frugal" repast of nuts, plums, raisins, and a glass of red wine to the Kat'olikos' health ("who could have drank again without a Bit of Bread?", Tournefort plaintively asked<sup>84</sup>), the purpose of the meeting was discussed:

What Business, says he, have you at Mount Macis? which is the Name this Mountain bears among the Armenians, but the Turks call it Agrida.<sup>85</sup> We answer'd, That being near a Place so celebrated, on which it was suppos'd Noah's Ark

bonnes gens croyent, comme un article de foy, que l'Arche s'y arrêta. S'il est vrai que ce soit la plus haute montagne d'Armenie, suivant le jugement des gens du pays; il est tres-certain aussi que c'est la plus chargée de neige. Ce qui fait paroître l'Ararat plus élevé, c'est qu'il est planté seul en forme de pain de sucre au milieu d'une des plus grandes plaines que l'on puisse voir. Il ne faut pas même juger de sa hauteur par la quantité des neiges qui le couvrent, puisque la neige se conserve dans le plus fort de l'Esté sur les moindres collines d'Armenie. Quand on demande aux Moines Armeniens, s'ils n'ont pas des reliques de l'Arche, ils répondent sagement qu'elle est encore ensevelie dans les fondrières des neiges du Mont Ararat.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., p. 345/p. 258, "un bon viellard assez rougeau, qui par humilité, ou pour être plus à son aise, n'avoit sur son corps qu'une mauvaise soutane de toile bleue." This was the Kat'olikos Nahapet of Edessa (r.1691-1705); cf. M. Örmanean, Azgapatum, sections 1826-1871.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., "mais nous lui aurion baisé les pieds pour peu qu'il eût témoigné le souhaiter, attendu le besoin que nous avions de son credit."

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., "mais comment reboire sans pain?"

<sup>85</sup>Turk.Ağridağ: the Weighty Mountain, or Mountain of Pain.

had rested, we should be much blam'd at our Return home, if we did not go to see it. You will find it very difficult, says the Patriarch, to go even so far as to the Snows; and as for the Ark, God has never yet favour'd any one with the Sight of it, except only one Saint, who was of our Order, and after fifty Years spent in Fasting and Prayer, was miraculously carried thither; but the excessive Cold seiz'd him in such manner, that he dy'd upon his Return. Our Interpreter made him laugh, by answering in our name, That after having spent half our Life in Fasting and Prayer, we should rather beg of God to let us see Paradise, than the Remains of Noah's House.<sup>86</sup>

Whether this reference was to the legend of St. James is unclear, though in all probability it was, given its similarity to that tale, which Tournefort had heard at Eymiacin and recounted next. His version is essentially that of Chardin, including his reference to James' later office as Bishop of Nisibis. By this time, James' attempts were lasting several days, though they still ended in failure, with the appearance of an angel who, Tournefort went on, "told him that God would not suffer Men to pull in pieces a Vessel which has sav'd so many Creatures. Thus," Tournefort concluded, "the Armenians amuse Strangers with such Stories."<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>86</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 346/p. 259:

Quelle devotion avez-vous, dit-il, pour le Mont Macis? c'est le nom que les Armeniens donnent à cette Montagne; les Turcs l'appellent Agrida. Nous répondîmes, que nous trouvans si près d'un lieu celebre, sur lequel on croyoit que l'Arche de Noé s'étoit arrêtée, nous serions mal receus dans notre pays si nous nous retirions sans le voir. Vous aurez de la peine, dit le Patriarche, d'aller jusques aux neiges; & pour ce qui est de l'Arche, Dieu n'a jamais fait la grace de la faire voir à personne qu'à un saint Religieux de notre Ordre, qui après cinquante ans de jeûnes & de prières y fut miraculeusement transporté; mais le froid le pénétra si fort, qu'il en mourut à son retour. Notre Interprete le fit rire en lui repliquant de notre part, qu'après avoir jeuné & prié la moitié de notre vie, nous demanderions à Dieu la grace de voir le Paradis, plutost que les débris de la maison de Noé.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., pp. 346-347/p. 259, "lui déclara que Dieu ne vouloit pas que les hommes lassent mettre en pieces un vaisseau qui avoit servi d'asile à tant de creatures. C'est ainsi que, par de semblables contes, les Armeniens amusent les etrangers."



Their mission accomplished satisfactorily, the group set out for Ararat with overnight stops at Norgawit' [Nocquevit] and Xorvirap [Corvirap].<sup>88</sup> Their ascent, while unsuccessful,<sup>89</sup> was nevertheless one of the earliest authentic attempts and the account of it is quite interesting. Since, however, it is rather lengthy, and, furthermore, lies outside the scope of this chapter, it has been relegated to Appendix G. We might add that while Tournefort took great pleasure in his "simpling" he seems not to have enjoyed his experiences on Ararat, describing the mountain in this way at one point:

To form any Idea of this Place, you must imagine one of the highest Mountains in the World opening its Bosom, only to shew the most horrible Spectacle that can be thought of. All the Precipices are perpendicular, and the Extremities are rough and blackish, as if a Smoke came out of the Sides, and smutted them.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup>Norgawit' was a village to the west of Erevan; see T'. X. Hakobean, Hayastani patmakan ašxarhagrut'yun [Historical Geography of Armenia] (Erevan: 1968), p. 156, and the same author's Erevani Patmut'yunē (1801-1879) [The History of Erevan, 1801-1879] (Erevan: 1959), p. 486. In the eighteenth century the Kat'orikos Abraham Kretac'i [Abraham of Crete] followed the same route south; see his Patmut'iwn [History] (Erevan: 1973), pp. 77, 177. Xor Virap is famous in Armenian tradition as the site of the pit into which St. Grigor the Illuminator was ordered thrown by King Trdat. See Hübbschmann, Ortsnamen, p. 435; Ališan, Ayrarat, pp. 415-440; and Ėp'rikean, II, 205-209. I am indebted to Dr. Krikor H. Maksoudian of the Department of Middle East Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, for the first three references.

<sup>89</sup>In fairness it should be noted that Tournefort and his party did not intend to attempt an assault on the summit; they only wanted to get as high as they could in the time at their disposal in order to look for new plants. "The Pleasure of Simpling," he says [II, p. 364/p. 272] "is, that one may, under pretext of seeking Plants, ramble as much as one pleases out of the direct Road, and so tire ourselves less than if we were forc'd to ascent right up: Moreover, 'tis a very agreeable Amusement, especially when we discover any new Plants."

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., p. 368/p. 275:

On n'a qu'à s'imaginer une des plus hautes Montagnes du monde, qui n'ouvre son sein que pour faire voir le spectacle le plus affreux qu'on puisse se représenter. Tous ces précipices sont taillez aplomb, & les extrémités en sont hérissées &

As for Tournefort's attitudes toward the legends of Ararat, we must note that contrary to his earlier inclinations which, as we have seen, were rather skeptical, in this section he refers to Noah and the Ark several times in a manner which suggests more belief in the Biblical accounts.<sup>91</sup> Thus does the Man of Science give way to the Man of Tradition . . . unless, of course, he was speaking metaphorically or sarcastically. In any event, the discussions are a product of observation and erudition, an art that Tournefort perfected to a greater degree than any of his predecessors.

Less than a year before, in October, 1700, Paul Lucas had passed through Armenia and was convinced that Ararat was "without doubt the highest mountain I have ever seen" and that "the Armenians assure us that the Noah's Ark rested on its summit, and that it is still there. Many people believe as they do."<sup>92</sup> He then related his version of the St. James story, which, since it will be our last encounter with it, might be worthwhile presenting in toto. Lucas first noted that "the Armenians tell a thousand tales about this mountain, and say that no one has ever been able

noirâtres, comme s'il en sortoit quelque fumée qui les sâlit, il n'en sort pourtant que des torrens de boüe.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, II, pp. 358, 359, 363, 369/pp. 267, 269, 271, 275. For example, from p. 363/p. 271, while discussing the next day's route: "and who is there upon Mount Ararat who can boast he understands French? Not even Noah himself, if he was to come thither again with his Ark." Or from p. 369/p. 275, when discussing how to make the quickest descent: "I leave it to be guess'd what Method Noah made use of to descend from this Place, who might have rid upon so many Sorts of Animals which were all at his command.

<sup>92</sup>Lucas, II, p. 258, "sans contestation la plus haute montagne que j'aye jamais veuë." "Les Armeniens assurent que l'Arche de Noé s'est ar-rétée sur son sommet, & qu'elle y est encore. Beaucoup de gens le croient comme eux."

to reach the place where the Ark rests; they believe that it is still there."<sup>93</sup> He then repeated the legend:

A monk . . . named Jacques had such a desire to see the place where the Ark is, that he set out resolving to reach it or die trying. He provisioned himself with only a knapsack of bread and a bottle of brandy. After having climbed one entire day, he had to rest and slept through the night. The next day he found himself nearly back to the base of mountain. Nevertheless he continued to want to climb higher for several days; but he tried in vain scarcely reaching the middle before being carried back down. As he fervently prayed to be allowed to accomplish his purpose, Heaven took pity on this poor Monk. God sent an Angel to him who commanded him not to tire himself any longer, and gave him a piece of the wood of the Ark as a reward for his efforts. The Angel added, that God had said that no man should reach the summit of the mountain and disappeared. Then the Monk descended to the Monastery to report all that he had seen, which caused him to be taken for a Saint, and be elevated to the Episcopate.<sup>94</sup>

After completing his recounting of the tale, Lucas comments that "the story is not very likely. Furthermore, it is impossible to ascend to the height

---

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 259, "Les Armeniens font mille contes de cette montagne, & disent que jamais personne n'a pû monter jusqu'au lieu où s'arrêta l'Arche; ils croient même qu'elle y est encore."

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., pp. 259-260:

Un Moine, disent-ils, nommé Jacques, eut une si grande devotion d'aller voir le lieu où est l'Arche, qu'il se mit en chemin pour cela, avec la resolution d'y mourir ou d'y arriver. Il ne se munit que d'un sac de pain, & d'une bouteille d'eau de vie. Après avoir monté toute une journée, il fallut se reposer & dormir la nuit. Le lendemain il se retrouva presqu'au bas de la montagne. Il persista néanmoins plusieurs jours à vouloir monter plus haut; mais il avoit beau faire, à peine étoit il arrivé à la moitié du chemin qu'il étoit reporté en bas. Comme il faisoit de fortes prières pour obtenir de venir a bout de son dessein, le Ciel eut pitié de ce pauvre Moine. Dieu luy envoya un Ange qui luy commanda de sa part de ne se plus fatiguer; & luy donna une piece de bois de l'Arche pour le recompenser de sa peine. L'Ange ajoûta, que Dieu avoit dit qu'aucun homme ne monteroit jamais au sommet de la montagne, & disparut; ainsi le Moine redescendit & fut au Convent faire le recit de tout ce qu'il avoit vu, ce qui le fit prendre pour un Saint, & le fit élever à l'Episcopat.

of the mountain always covered with snow which never melts."<sup>95</sup>

We have thus completed our examination of the main legends associated with Mount Ararat and their presentation in seventeenth century Western travel literature. The notion that Ararat was the landing place of the Ark and the impossibility of climbing that mountain persevered throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and persists even to-day, long after the summit of Ararat has been reached numerous times. Likewise, the legend of St. James has been preserved, though increasingly in a bookish transmission, and still appears.<sup>96</sup> Our interest does not at

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 260, "Le conte n'a pas beaucoup d'apparence. D'ailleurs il est impossible de monter au haut de la montagne toujours couverte de neiges qui ne fondent jamais."

<sup>96</sup>In the 1780's Count Ferrières-Sauveboeuf commented that "one must be an Armenian to believe this fable" [of the Ark on Ararat] ("il faut être Arménien pour croire à cette fable"), Mémoires historiques, politiques et géographiques, I (Paris: 1790), p. 263. The first ascent of Ararat was by Dr. Johann Friedrich Parrot (1792-1840) and a mixed party of Russians and Armenians which included the Young Xaç'atur Abovian, later one of the greatest Armenian writers of the nineteenth century. The summit was reached on 27 September 1829. See his Reise zum Ararat, 2 vols. (1834), translated by W. D. Cooley as Journey to Ararat (London: [1845?]; New York: 1846, repr. 1970). Parrot recounts the James legend on p. 163 of the 1970 edition. The story can also be found in Bryce, Transcaucasia and Ararat, pp. 206-207, and H. F. B. Lynch, Armenia: Travels and Studies, I, pp. 184-185; both of these travellers attained the summit of Ararat. One who did not but who nevertheless had very definite ideas on these subjects, was Robert Curzon. See his Armenia: A Year at Erzerum, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia (London: 1854), pp. 204-205, where he acidly writes that "The foolish legends which disgrace the purity of true religion usually relate to the object of local tradition which may be met with in the neighbourhood of the monastery; consequently an attack of indigestion in an Armenian monk generally produces a vision of some nonsensical revelation about Noah's Ark, which is still supposed to remain, hidden to mortal eye, under the clouds and snows of Mount Ararat." More recently, one can refer to Lord Kinross, Within the Taurus (London: 1954), p. 86, for the legend of James, Fernand Navarra, The Forbidden Mountain, Michael Legat, trans. (London: 1956), for an account of someone who believes he actually found remnants of the Ark, and Denis Hills, My Travels in Turkey (London: 1964), a writer and climber who has made three successful ascents, mostly for the view. He includes an especially interesting Appendix III, "Ararat's Other Visitors", pp. 209-213, where he notes that "Though the Armenians who once fervently held this belief [that the

this point extend past the early eighteenth century, however, and as we have seen, Ararat and the legends surrounding it had a major place in the travel literature of the period. In fact, no other aspect of Armenia was so extensively treated and the image, or images, of the country and its people which developed at that time are in no small way tied to this mountain. Through the customs and traditions associated with Ararat and to a lesser extent with other localities to be considered directly, a picture of Armenia was transmitted to the Europe of the seventeenth century which, we hope to show at some later point, found a reflection in the general literature of the times. For now, let us return to the environs of Ararat to undertake a less lengthy survey of other traditions or legends which our travellers found worthy of note.

Although the Armenians have many traditions related to Ararat, there is only one other mentioned in these sources. Noting that "the Armenians hold it [Ararat] in such great veneration," Père Monier informs us that "as soon as they catch sight of it, they prostrate themselves and kiss the ground."<sup>97</sup> Tavernier and Tournefort also mention this custom and both of them add that they then make the sign of the Cross and recite some prayers.<sup>98</sup> The custom is also mentioned by John Bell, who travelled from Shamākhā to Isfahan late in 1716. In the vicinity of Tabriz, an Armenian merchant told him that on a clear day Ararat could be seen in the

---

top of Noah's mountain cannot be climbed] have vanished from the Turkish (but not Soviet) neighbourhood of Ararat," it is still widely believed among the local Turkish and Kurdish inhabitants.

<sup>97</sup>Monier, p. 300, "Les Arméniens l'ont en grande vénération: sitôt qu'ils l'aperçoivent ils se prosternent en terre et la baisent."

<sup>98</sup>Tavernier, p. 38; Tournefort, II, p. 359/p. 268.

distance; while he did not know whether to believe that, he was certain that "when the ARMENIANS see this mountain, they make a sign of the cross, and say their prayers, as is their custom, when they approach any place which they esteem sacred."<sup>99</sup>

Despite the fact that no one else describes the custom, these notices suffice to show not only the Armenian attitude toward the mountain -- which needs little further documentation -- but, more importantly, suggest that these actions were not perceived as superstitious or idolatrous by the travellers. All four men describe the custom very briefly but without the slightest trace of a patronizing or condescending tone. At other times, of course, such attitudes are present, but this custom is accepted without comment, a good indication that certain feelings were probably shared. The point is strengthened by remembering that only Tournefort and Monier were Catholics, Tavernier and Bell being Protestants.

Most of the remaining traditions reported by our travellers relate to specific places, usually offering a reason or explanation for their founding, if cities, towns, etc., or repeating some other interesting historic information. Though none of these traditions recur as frequently as the reference to Ararat, the one following is still discussed several times, and it, like the more famous traditions regarding Ararat, is a product of the story of the Flood and can be traced back to Josephus:

Noah . . . went forth himself with his family, sacrificed to God and feasted with his household. The Armenians call that spot the Landing-place, for it was there that the ark came safe to land, and they show the relics of it to this day.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup>Bell, I, pp. 74-75.

<sup>100</sup>Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, I, xcii, p. 45.

This "Landing-place," or Apobaterion, was first alluded to among our travellers by John Cartwright, who did not associate it with any contemporary site.<sup>101</sup> Thereafter there is an absence of any further references until the middle of the century, when La Boullaye explained the etymology of the name Naxchiuan as signifying "first built, because it is the first town which had been built after the flood."<sup>102</sup> From then on, we find several repetitions of this tradition, usually in terms which imply its having been learned first-hand.

Tavernier, giving a different etymology, related that "Naksivan according to the opinion of the Armenians is the most ancient town in the world, built about three leagues from the mountain on which Noah's Ark rested. It is from this that it takes its name: for Nak in Armenian means ship, & Sivan rested or dwelt."<sup>103</sup> His contemporary, Chardin, said that:

Other Armenian authors make Nacchivan even older [than Artasat], and say that Noah began to build from here, and that he established his dwelling there after the flood. They

<sup>101</sup>Cartwright, p. 335.

<sup>102</sup>La Boullaye, p. 86, marg. note, "Naxchiuan signifie premiere faite, parce que c'est la premiere ville qui ait esté bastie après le deluge." Père Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité actually mentioned this tradition before La Boullaye, but since he never went as far north as Naxiĵewan, it seems likely that he was repeating information received from books. See his Voyage d'Orient, p. 90. It must be pointed out that while the first syllable, Nax, is usually translated properly as "first", the rest of the word is subject to increasingly inventive explanations, which are difficult to account for except as folk etymologies or wild guesses based on a minimal command of the language.

<sup>103</sup>Tavernier, p. 39, "Naksivan selon l'opinion des Armeniens est la plus ancienne ville du monde, bâtie environ à trois lieues de la montagne sur laquelle s'arresta l'Arche de Noë. C'est d'où elle a pris son nom: car Nak en Armenien signifie Navire, & Sivan pose ou demeuré."

relate the etymology of the name of this town to this origin; because in their words, Nacchivan (Nakhidchevan), in old Armenian, means first abode, or first refuge.<sup>104</sup>

while Gemelli-Careri echoed Tavernier:

Some will have Nak-civan, to be the antientist city in the world, pretending that Noah when he came out of the Ark lived there; perhaps because it is but thirty miles from mount Ararat. They add that Noah was buried there, and they support their opinion by the etymology of the city, because Nak in the Armenian tongue signifies a ship and Civan, staying.<sup>105</sup>

Finally, Villotte reports a slightly different version, which he implies was received first-hand:

the inhabitants [of Naxifewan] hold that the Patriarch Noah himself as soon as he descended from Mount Ararat after the flood, laid out its plan with string, and built it immediately after Erevan, thus causing it to be given the name of Naktchivan, composed of two Armenian words, tchuan [č'uan] which means string, and nak [nax], which means first, in order to denote that after Erivan it was the first town of the renewed world.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>104</sup>Chardin, II, p. 299:

D'autres auteurs Arméniens font Nacchivan encore plus ancienne, et disent que Noé commença de la bâtir, et qu'il y établit sa demeure après le déluge. Ils rapportent à cette origine l'etymologie du nom de cette ville; car, à leur dire, Nacchivan, (Nakhidchevan), en vieux arménien, signifie première habitation, ou premier hospice.

<sup>105</sup>Gemelli-Careri, II, p. 19/p. 108:

Nak Civan vogliono alcuni, che fia la Città più antica del Mondo, dicendo, che Noé, uscita dall'Arca, vi abitasse (a): e forse è venuta questa opinione, perche è lontana solo 30. miglia dal Monte Ararath. Diccono di più, che vi fusse sepolto Noé, e confermano la loro opinione coll'etimologia della Città stessa; perocche Nak in lingua Armena significa Na'e, e Civan dimora.

The (a) is a footnote reference to Tavernier.

<sup>106</sup>Villotte, p. 192:

les habitans tiennent que le Patriarche Noé, dès qu'il fût descendu du mont Ararat après le déluge, en désigna lui-même



This last explanation is certainly the cleverest but is unfortunately incorrect. Chardin's etymology was closest to the generally accepted popular ones,<sup>107</sup> which identify Naxiġewan with Apobaterion as the first landing-place.

What is important for us is that once again our travellers are learning about Armenian traditions and their close association with Biblical events. In this regard, we find the appearance of yet another tradition which is associated with Noah, though it appears in a somewhat confused form.

Of our travellers, La Boullaye is the first to mention "Marante where the Armenians say that Noah's wife died and was buried; this proves to them that the Ark dwelt on top of Mount Gordiaeus."<sup>108</sup> Chardin, Tavernier and Gemelli-Careri<sup>109</sup> repeat this legend in similar terms, while Villotte, on the contrary, says "The people of the land hold that it is here that the Patriarch Noah died and was buried; they still show the place thought to be his tomb."<sup>110</sup>

---

le plan avec le cordeau, & le bâtit incontinent après Erivan, ce qui lui fit donner le nom de Naktchivan, composé de deux mots Armenien de tchuan, qui veut dire corde, & de nak, qui signifie premier, pour marquer qu'après Erivan c'étoit le première ville du monde renouvelée.

<sup>107</sup>On Naxiġewan, see Hübbschmann, pp. 346, 455.

<sup>108</sup>La Boullaye, p. 87, "Marante où les Armeniens disent que la femme de Noé est morte & enterrée; ce qui leur confirme que l'Arche est demeurée sur le mont Gordiaeus."

<sup>109</sup>Chardin, II, p. 318, where he adds that the Armenian tradition says "that this name comes from an Armenian verb meaning to bury" ("que ce nom vient d'un verbe arménien qui veut dire enterrer"); Tavernier, p. 49; Gemelli-Careri, II, p. 22/p. 109.

<sup>110</sup>Villotte, p. 185, "Les gens du pays tiennent que c'est-là que mourut & que fut enterré le Patriarche Noé, dont ils montrent encore le lieu prétendu de la sépulture."

Lucas, too, states that the Armenians claim that it is Noah who is buried at Marand.<sup>111</sup> Hübschmann confirms that it was supposed to be Noah's wife buried in Marand and then tersely comments: "Nonsense, naturally."<sup>112</sup>

Old Testament traditions are not, however, the only ones told and repeated by Westerners, though they do figure very prominently in the accounts. We can also find references to events and relics from the time of Christ, and quite a few references to the legends associated with the Christianization of Armenia. In the first category we need only mention the monastery of Ge'ard where, Tavernier (referring to the place as Kick-art) said, "according to the Tradition of the Armenians the spear with which Jesus-Christ was stabbed is guarded, . . . The Armenians venerate this spear greatly and say that it was brought to this country by St. Matthew."<sup>113</sup> Gemelli-Careri mentions this relic as well.<sup>114</sup>

As regards the Christianization of Armenia, however, one encounters many traditions, the most prominent being that associated with the

<sup>111</sup>Lucas, II, p. 270.

<sup>112</sup>Hübschmann, pp. 346-347; 451 (for "Naturlich Unsinn," and the reference to Noah's wife).

<sup>113</sup>Tavernier, p. 33, "selon la Tradition des Armeniens est gardé le fer de la lance dont JESUS-CHRIST fut percé, . . . Les Armeniens ont cette lance en grande veneration, & dissent qu'elle fut apportée par saint Matthieu en ce pays la." I mention this particular relic because it impressed Tavernier enough to draw it and include it in his work facing p. 33. On the contrary, Chardin, II, p. 174, said that the spear and the seamless tunic were taken by Shah 'Abbās to Isfahan. On Ge'ard see Hübschmann, p. 417.

<sup>114</sup>Gemelli-Careri, II, p. 14/p. 106, who often closely paraphrases Tavernier, thus prompting one to doubt the validity of his observations. Such doubt is not necessary, however, as Gemelli tells us he went to Ge'ard on Tuesday, 1 June [1694] and that the travel-time was eight hours. Further, his place-names and distances are usually very reliable, and we have no reason to doubt his veracity.

founding of Eymiacin.<sup>115</sup> Once again, it is La Boullaye who provides the earliest mention of it among the seventeenth century travellers through Armenia. He wrote that the Armenians believe that:

Jesus appeared to St. Gregory several times and laid out its [Eymiacin's] plan to him; in this Church there is a place covered by iron grating where they come to make their Speeches with great devotion and respect, it being the place where Our Lord first appeared to the said St. Gregory, their Apostle.<sup>116</sup>

and he further noted that bells chimed on the arrival of a caravan and a Mass was performed. Other sources inform us caravans usually stopped over in Eymiacin for several days at a time so the Armenians could perform their devotions.<sup>117</sup>

Johann Grueber is the next to mention "Etschmianin, where one still finds the place where St. Gregory the Archbishop of Armenia, and St. Ripsimes suffered Martyrdom, with several others, and also the pit into which

<sup>115</sup>On Eymiacin see Lynch, I, pp. 228-315; and Hübbschmann, p. 428. Eymiacin is generally translated as the Place where the Only Begotten [Son] descended referring to the legend which we are now discussing. The legend itself can be found already in the fifth century in Agat'angeḡos, Patmut' iwn [History] (Venice: 1862), pp. 554-555, while the earliest use of the toponym Eymiacin is thought to be by the fifteenth century Kat'olikos Kirakos Virapec'i, "Encyclical," which is most accessible in Babgen Kiwleserian, Patmut'iwn Kat'olikosac' Kilikioy [History of the Cilician Kat'olikosate] (Antelias, Lebanon: 1939), p. 1403. In the seventeenth century, Eymiacin was more often referred to by its Turkish name of Üçkilise ("Three Churches"), or a translation thereof, though both names are used, sometimes by the same traveller.

<sup>116</sup>La Boullaye, p. 77:

Jesus s'est apparu plusieurs fois à Saint Gregoire, & luy en traca le plan; dans cette Eglise il y a vn lieu couuert de grisles de fer où ils vont faire leurs Oraisons avec grande deuotion & respect, estant le lieu où Nostre Seigneur se fist voir au dit S. Gregoire leur Apostre.

La Boullaye referred only to Vvche Kilisa.

<sup>117</sup>See, for example, Tavernier, p. 26 and Tournefort, II, p. 332/p. 248; cf. Alexandre de Rhodes' remark, p. 442/pp. 229-230: "People came there out of devotion from all over the country, and especially merchants

St. Gregory was thrown, and where he miraculously survived for fourteen years."<sup>118</sup> Aside from some slight confusions (e.g. the "pit" of Xor Virap is not in Eymiacin, but is at least an hour's drive away by car), the most noteworthy point is that neither author has yet discussed the etymology of the site. That failure was corrected by Chardin:

The Armenians call it Ecs-miazin, i.e. the descent of the Only-Begotten Son, or the Only-Begotten Son has descended, and this name, they say, has been given to this place, because Jesus-Christ made himself clearly visible there to St. Gregory, who was its first patriarch.<sup>119</sup>

Tavernier presented the story differently:

The Armenians call this place Egmiasin, i.e. Only Son, which is the name of the main Church. In their Chronicles it is found that about three hundred years after the coming of JESUS-CHRIST it began to be built, and that the walls being already of leaning height, the Devil came to undo during the night that which had been built during the day; and that this went on for two years; but that one night JESUS-CHRIST appeared, and that from that moment on the Devil could no longer prevent the Church from being built. It is dedicated to St. Gregory for whom the Armenians have great veneration, and one sees there a table of rock which is according to their same Chronicles the rock where JESUS-CHRIST stood when he appeared

---

desirous of undertaking some voyage come to this place that they consider holy, to ask God for the graces necessary for its success, and not failing to make fine offerings there." Rhodes further remarked, p. 444/p. 231, that this monastery was the only in all the lands of Islam which was allowed to use bells. One amasses further proof from these examples for the general contention that the Armenians controlled the majority of the overland trade, or else they could not so easily delay their travels.

<sup>118</sup>Grueber, in A. Kircher, S.J., ed., China Illustrata, p. 86/La Chine Illustrée, p. 115, "Etschmianin ubi martyris S. Gregorii Armenorum Archiepiscopi, & S. Ripsimes, Sociarumque locus, una cum puteo, in quo S. Gregorius projectus 14 annorum spatio miraculose vixit, ostenditur." The French translation says 15 years.

<sup>119</sup>Chardin, II, p. 171:

Les Armenians l'appellent Ecs-miazin, c'est-à-dire la descente du fils unique engendré, ou le fils unique engendré est descendu, et ce nom, disent-ils, a été donné à ce lieu, parce que Jésus-Christ s'y fit voir clairement à saint Gergoire, qui en fut le premier patriarche.

to St. Gregory. Those who enter the Church kiss this table with great devotion.<sup>120</sup>

At this point, we should note the absence of qualifying statements intended to cast doubt on the validity of the story. Beyond an occasional, and perhaps merely stylistic, "they say", we have not yet seen any evidence that this tradition is not believed. In contrast to the growing skepticism toward the legends of Ararat, the traditions (and abilities) of Christ are, not surprisingly, more readily accepted, though there are one or two hints from two of the Jesuits that perhaps there is room for doubt, and even in this more "sensitive" area we can recognize a growing, although much less pronounced, skepticism as we approach the eighteenth century.

Thus, referring to the Cathedral of Eġmiasin, Avril reported that:

It is consecrated to the Incarnate Word, which according to common Tradition gave the Draught of it to St. Gregory, Sirnam'd the Illuminator, who was ordain'd the first Patriarch

<sup>120</sup>Tavernier, pp. 25-26:

Les Armenians appellent ce lieu là Egmiasin, c'est à dire, Fils unique, qui est le mon de la principale Eglise. On trouve dans leurs Chroniques qu'environ trois cens ans après le venuë de JESUS-CHRIST on commença à la bastir, & que les murailles estant desja à hauteur d'appuy, le Diable venoit defaire la nuit ce qu'on avoit fait le jour; que celà dura près de deux ans; mais qu'une nuit JESUS-CHRIST apparut, & que dès ce moment là le Diable ne put plus empescher que l'on n'achevât l'Eglise. Elle est dediée à saint Gregoire pour lequel les Armeniens ont une grand veneration, & on y voit une table de pierre qui est selon leurs mesmes Chroniques, la pierre où JESUS-CHRIST se posoit quand il apparoissoit à saint Gregoire. Ceux qui entrent dans l'Eglise vont baiser cette table en grand devotion.

Gemelli-Careri, II, p. 7/p. 104, once more closely follows Tavernier's version of the story, but again adds physical details which tend to confirm his presence.

of the Armenians by Pope Silvester, by whom he was likewise acknowledg'd for his Father and Master.<sup>121</sup>

And, unable to resist referring to the errors into which he felt the Armenian Church had fallen, he added: "and happy had she been, had she preserv'd in the primitive Purity that Religion which that Holy Apostle taught her."<sup>122</sup>

A questioning tone is adopted by Avril's brother in the Faith, Villotte, who defines Eymiacin properly enough and then adds that "these People claim to mark that it was in this place that our Lord appeared to descend from Heaven, and showed himself to St. Gregory the Illuminator, the first Patriarch of Armenia, of which the Armenians are so strongly convinced, that it would be a crime among them to deny this tradition."<sup>123</sup> Monier is less skeptical but still seems unconvinced,<sup>124</sup> while Lucas, in 1700, presents a more embellished version, though omitting any etymology, as well as any real indication of whether he believed it:

Before this Altar [in the middle of the Cathedral] is a rock for which the Armenians have great devotion. They say that in this place Our Lord showed himself to St. Gregory in the

<sup>121</sup>Avril, p. 67/pp. 60-61:

Elle est dédiée au Verbe Incarne, qui selon la Tradition commune en donna luy-même le plan à Saint Gregoire, surnommé l'Illuminateur, que Saint Sylvestre Pape établit ensuite premier Patriarche de la Nation Arménienne [sic] qui le reconnoît aussi pour son Pere & pour son maître.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., pp. 67-68/p. 61, "trop heureuse si elle avoit conservé dans sa pureté la Religion que ce Saint Apôtre luy avoit enseignée."

<sup>123</sup>Villotte, p. 83, "ces Peuples prétendent marquer que se fut en ce lieu-là que notre Seigneur parut descendre du Ciel & se fit voir à Saint Gregoire l'Illuminateur, premier Patriarche d'Armenie, de quoi les Armeniens sont si persuadez, que ce seroit un crime chez eux que de nier cette tradition."

<sup>124</sup>Monier, p. 300.

form of a flame, and that he made an opening to Hell here, through which he threw all the devils which were in the land; they add, moreover, that Jesus-Christ himself traced out the place where this Church was to be built, with a sword of fire.<sup>125</sup>

Finally, Tournefort tells us the origins of the name as he heard it from the Armenians, who "call this Borough Itchmiadzin, that is, The Descent of the only Son; because they believe that our Lord appeared to St. Gregory in this Place, as we were told; for we don't understand one Word, either of the vulgar or learned Armenian Tongue."<sup>126</sup> Further on, he repeats the story of the appearance of Christ and says that, at Eymiacin, the Armenians have several relics which include an arm of St. Grigor, a finger of St. Peter, two fingers of St. John the Baptist, and a rib of St. James.<sup>127</sup> Finally, yet another page on, he returns to the tradition of the appearance of Christ and His drawing of the plan of the Cathedral; only, Tournefort adds:

Instead of a Pencil, they say the Lord made use of a Ray of Light, in the Midst of which St. Gregory was at Prayers

<sup>125</sup>Lucas, II, p. 243:

Devant cet Autel est une pierre pour laquelle les Armeniens ont beaucoup de devotion. Ils disent qu'en ce lieu Nôtre Seigneur s'apparut à saint Gregoire en forme de flamme, & qu'il fit là une ouverture de l'enfer, par où il y précipita tous les diables qui étoient dans le pays; ils ajoutent de plus, que Jesus-Christ trace lui-même avec une lance de feu, le lieu où devoit être bâtie cette Eglise.

<sup>126</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 331/p. 248, "appellent ce bourg Itchmiadzin, c'est à dire la descente du Fils unique, à ce qu'on nous dit, parce qu'ils croyent que le Seigneur apparut à Saint Gregoire en ce lieu-là. Nous n'en doutâmes pas; car nous n'entendions pas un seul mot d'Armenien vulgaire ni littéral."

<sup>127</sup>Ibid., p. 333/p. 249. Villotte, p. 85, mentions all of the above relics and includes as well the body of St. Hrip'simē, the arm of St. Gayanē, and a piece of the True Cross.

upon a great square Stone, of about three Feet diameter, which they still show in the Middle of the Church. If this story be true, the Lord has made use of a very singular Order of Building; for the Domes and Steeples are in the shape of a Tunnel turn'd upside down, with a Cross on the top.<sup>128</sup>

Other legends relating to the Christianization of Armenia could be traced in a similar fashion, though it seems unnecessary, and would perhaps even be tedious, to do so at this time. Suffice it to point out that the legends of the martyrdom of Sts. Gayanē and Hrip'simē and of the incarceration of St. Grigor in Xor Virap also figure prominently in Armenian tradition and are extensively reflected by the Western travellers.<sup>129</sup>

It should now be obvious that by encountering local traditions related to various aspects of its mythopoeic past the Western traveller through this area was both made aware of and had his credulity tested by the strong Biblical associations of the Armenian locale. We have seen that these traditions were transmitted through actual contact and presentation in Armenia itself as well as by more scholarly, erudite means, but that these two were not mutually exhaustive. Thus, even in the case of a

---

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., p. 334/p. 250:

Au lieu de crayon, à ce qu'ils disent, Jesus-Christ se servit d'un rayon de lumiere, au centre duquel Saint Gregoire faisoit sa priere sur une grande pierre quarrée, d'environ trois pieds de diametre, que l'on montre encore aujourd'hui au milieu de l'Eglise. Si cela est, le Seigneur y employa un ordre d'architecture assez singulier; car les dômes & les clochers sont en pavillon d'entonnioir renversé, & terminés par une croix.

<sup>129</sup>These legends are cited by the following travellers: Gabriel de Chinon, Relations nouvelles du Levant, pp. 228-229; Grueber, see above n. 118; Chardin, pp. 177-178; Tavernier, p. 26; Avril, p. 68/p. 61; Villette, p. 84; Monier, pp. 304-305; Gemelli-Careri, II, pp. 8-9/p. 105; Lucas, II, pp. 249, 261-263; Tournefort, II, pp. 334-335, 348/pp. 250-251, 260.



Gemelli-Careri, who relied so heavily on Tavernier's earlier account, we must still admit the likelihood that he met with at least some of these stories first-hand. The presence of the two interacting attitudes of the established Christian faith and the developing Scientific skepticism only served to produce a tension not always easily dealt with by our travellers. The problem was further exacerbated by the different brands of Christianity involved. In other words, while whatever doubts Tournefort, for example, might have entertained about the stories he heard and repeated were certainly due mostly to scientific training and a questioning nature, it is more instructive to see the skepticism of, say, the Jesuits as a reaction to the obvious errors of misguided "Schismatics," as will be made apparent farther on.

As a result, the image of Armenia (and of the Armenian as well) which we have seen built up in this chapter is of a country and people, above all Christian, and closely tied to the most important events of history. Their own backgrounds individually and collectively serve to structure and limit these travellers' attitudes in this respect, allowing a greater degree of uncertainty about those immediate post-diluvian events which were precisely more questionable in the minds and works of society at large while restricting the degree of doubt about matters which permitted such speculation to a lesser degree.

Unquestionably, the land of Armenia was associated with various Biblical traditions, which would serve to produce a more or less favorable reaction, even when the travellers exercised their powers of observation more directly and paused to look at the countryside around them. When they did that they would provide one of their most important services, for it is in the area of reporting local conditions that travellers'

accounts are generally of greater value. We shall turn, then, from Armenia in legend to Armenia in reality and attempt to describe some of the more significant physical aspects of Armenia in the seventeenth century.

## Chapter Five -- The Land of Armenia

The deadly ravages that it has suffered, and the few vestiges which remain of its ancient splendor, have caused it to decline from the degree of esteem that its peoples and its Kings before Christianity, and the great men who have since introduced it to the true Religion, had obtained for it. Everything there is ruined, deserted, or uncivilized. Every one there breathes only of tyranny and slavery in the civil state, and self-interest, superstition and ignorance in Religion.<sup>1</sup>

When Paul Lucas forded the Arpaçay in October, 1700, and crossed from the land of the Sultan into the land of the Shah, he was plainly struck by the toll of nearly two centuries' warfare between those foes. Such destruction was, of course, nothing new to Armenia, which had already endured similar incursions for over two thousand years. Nor should it have been unknown to any Westerners who had witnessed the results of the various European wars of the seventeenth century, notably the Thirty Years' War. For this reason, one should not be surprised to discover that there are relatively few direct references to the devastations of the Ottoman-Safavid wars in the travellers' accounts.

Nevertheless, Lucas' observations underscore an important point: the image of Armenia which was discussed in the preceding chapter was an inherited -- and therefore largely passive -- one. It was based on the

---

<sup>1</sup>Lucas, II, pp. 245-246:

Les ravages funestes qu'il a soufferts, & le peu de vestiges qui restent de son ancienne splendeur, l'ont fait déchoir de ce degré d'estime que ses peuples & ses Roys avant le Christianisme, & les grands hommes qui l'ont amené depuis à la véritable Religion, luy avoient acquise. Tout y est ruiné, desert ou barbarie. Tout n'y respire que la tyrannie & l'esclavage dans l'état civil, que l'interêt, la superstition & l'ignorance dans la Religion.

traditional Biblical accounts common to all branches of the Christian faith wherever they existed and was heightened by the travellers' actual presence in the very lands in which those events were reputed to have taken place. The acceptance (or lack thereof) of these traditions was further affected by their exposition and repetition by the Armenians themselves. As a result, while the traveller could plainly see Ararat, for example, its important associations could only be impressed upon him by outside information reacting with his past training and experience. It is for this reason that this first image is considered both passive and imaginary, since it usually existed prior to the individual's arrival in Armenia and was not necessarily dependent on any surrounding physical realities.

Now, it is of course true that such factors always function to some degree; one can never completely overcome one's past and is always exposed to outside influences -- especially when travelling. Nevertheless, when the traveller was able to make his own observations, he was at the very least engaging in a much more active enterprise. Regardless of whether the Ark really was on Ararat, the mountain itself could be described by anyone passing by, irrespective of any pre-existing conditions. The physical reality or real image of Armenia, then, is what will be examined in this chapter. Rather than information largely dependent on outside factors, we will deal with much more direct knowledge, though to do so we must once again re-emphasize our awareness of the extent to which "biases" continue to display themselves. Still, the image which we hope to show next is one which will be based to a much greater degree on "objective" sources. In other words, it is more a product of the eye than of the mind. Further, it is in this connection that the ultimate worth of these

this route but the ruins of villages, of towns and of ancient Churches, and all these remains show what the strength and the Religion of the Armenians had previously been in the time of their kings."<sup>3</sup> A few years later, Gemelli observed that the area around Kars had "an excellent soil, but untill'd for want of people."<sup>4</sup> As the frontier was approached, he was "not a little mov'd to compassion by the way to see so many places destroy'd by the wars, whose ruins still shew their greatness; and particularly the city Ani-Kagae."<sup>5</sup>

These observations by Villotte, Gemelli-Careri and Lucas all date from the last decade of the seventeenth century and amply attest to the lasting impact of the Turco-Persian wars. Earlier, Tavernier reported similar conditions and associated them more explicitly with the wars of the early part of the century, and especially with Julfa, because "having often chosen this place for the rendezvous of his army, every time the Grand Seigneur wanted to restore it to a good state, and to repopulate the villages, the King of Persia totally ruined it, as he did at Julfa, and in several other places along the frontier, for eight or nine days' travel."<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup>Villotte, p. 194, "on ne voit sur cette route que des ruines de villages, de villes & d'Eglises anciennes, & tous ces restes font voir quelle a été autrefois la puissance & la Religion des Armeniens du tems de leurs Rois."

<sup>4</sup>Gemelli-Careri, I, p. 401/p. 102.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 404/p. 103. "Ani-Kagae" = Arm. Ani-K'aṭak', the town of Ani.

<sup>6</sup>Tavernier, p. 22, "le Grand Seigneur ayant souvent choisi ce lieu là pour le rendez-vous de son armée, toutes les fois qu'il a voulu le remettre en bon estat, & y envoyer du monde pour y bastir des villages, le Roy de Perse a toute ruiné, comme il a fait à Zulfa, & en plusieurs autres lieux de le frontiere, durant huit ou neuf journées de chemin." Gemelli-Careri, I, p. 402/p. 102, again borrows Tavernier's phrase, "rovinari da' Persiani per otto, o nove giornate di cammino," for his own description of the vicinity of Kars.

Julfa, then, was seen as the city which bore the brunt of the wars. Fortunately, two travellers describe the town just prior to its final siege and the dispersal of its inhabitants.

Late in 1581, Newbery saw a "Bridge of wood upon Boates, there was a stone Bridge, but it is broken."<sup>7</sup> More important historically he also noted: "There are in this Towne three thousand Houses, and they have seven Churches, and the richest pay every house twentie Merchel a yeere, and the rest according to their abilities."<sup>8</sup>

Two decades later, Cartwright reported that "This towne consisteth of two thousand houses and ten thousand soules, being built at the foot of a great rocky mountaine in so barren a soile, that they are constrained to fetch most of their prouision, only wine excepted, from the City Nas-siuan, halfe a dayes iourney off, . . . The buildings of Chiulfal are very faire, all of hard quarry stone."<sup>9</sup> The inhabitants were all Christians -- Armenian or Georgian.<sup>10</sup>

Obviously, the most important detail in these accounts is the close agreement in the figures for the population of Julfa. The difference

<sup>7</sup>Newbery, p. 468.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid. The Marchil was a European coin of 24 1/2 - 25g. of silver; see Levon Khachikian, "The Ledger of the Merchant Hovhannes Joughayetsi," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, VIII, 3 (1966), 181.

<sup>9</sup>Cartwright, p. 35.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid. Information such as this is scattered throughout the sources and will be pointed out in appropriate places. However, it is not one of our aims to embark upon a systematic study of the question of population movements and the de-Christianization and subsequent Islamization of eastern Anatolia. What information there is in these accounts tends to point to a later date for this change though it was proceeding rapidly. See Spyros Vryonis, Jr., The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1971), for some useful ideas and methodological suggestions.

between Cartwright's 10,000 and Newbery's 15,000 (figuring the latter at Cartwright's average of five persons per house) is negligible for the times and the total, in the absence of any other contemporary sources,<sup>11</sup> can be assumed to be reasonably accurate; and it should further support our contention that travellers' accounts ought not to be disregarded as valid historical sources.

Within five years of Cartwright's visit, Julfa was in ruins and its population dispersed, mostly to the new suburb across the river from Isfahan. These events were commonly known by travellers through the area, and most of them referred to the ruins of Julfa and the policies of Shah 'Abbās though his responsibility and the forcible nature of his action were sometimes overlooked. Their usually strong pro-Persian bias was probably due to the even stronger anti-Turk feelings of most seventeenth century travellers from Europe, to which the Ottoman Empire was still a very real threat. The indignities which many of them endured in Turkey would only serve to strengthen those tendencies, while the continuing hope for Persian-European alliances would tend to favor pro-Persian feelings. Finally, some of the travellers were unquestionably motivated by a desire to ingratiate themselves with one or another element of Persian society; this was especially true of missionaries, who were allowed to proselytize

---

<sup>11</sup>Later sources concur: Chardin, II, p. 303, gives a figure of four thousand houses and attributes it to unspecified Armenians, but adds that the evidence of the ruins suggests no more than half that amount could have lived there, while Villotte, p. 187, counted three thousand houses. Since the figures vary as they do, it is all the more evident that there is no "plagiarism" at work here and that they are intrinsically reliable. Ališan, *Sisakan*, pp. 410, 413, also places the total population of Julfa at 10-12,000 (cited by Arewšatyan, *Hay Zōkovrdi Patmut'iwn [History of the Armenian People]*, IV, p. 100.

among the Christians only at the whim of the Shah.

Père Philippe, for one, commented on the desolation of Julfa and its lack of inhabitants, but then discussed at greater length the advantages the Armenians enjoyed as a result of their removal.<sup>12</sup> The Capucin missionary Gabriel de Chinon felt similarly.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, La Boullaye was more sympathetic to the Armenians' fate, noting that it was "old Vsulfa, which the Armenians of Hispahaam left, transported from this place by Schah Abbas the Conqueror who seized the land, drove the enslaved people to Hispahaam, and gave permission to these poor banished people to build a town a half-league's distance from Hispahaam. . . ."<sup>14</sup> Père Alexandre de Rhodes also mentioned Julfa's desolation, but dwelt upon "a very extensive field where there are at least 10,000 marble tombs marvelously well wrought. On each may be seen a large block of white marble twelve feet high and eight wide, graven with many beautiful figures and a large cross above it. This great quantity of marble is a most beautiful sight."<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup>Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, pp. 91-92.

<sup>13</sup>Gabriel de Chinon, pp. 253-254. Book II, Chapter II, Article III, p. 253 of his Relations nouvelles de Levant is entitled "The establishment of the Armenians at Iulfa, near Hispaam, under the rule of Cha Abbas, wherein is proved, by many examples, the great benevolence that this Prince had toward them. . . ." [L'établissement des Armeniens à Iulfa, prez d'Hispaam, sous le règne de Cha Abbas, où est prouvée, par plusieurs exemples, la grande bonté que ce Prince avoit pour eux. . . .], and is an example of the attitude discussed above.

<sup>14</sup>La Boullaye, p. 86, "vieux Vsulfa, d'où sont sortis les Armeniens d'Hispaam, transportez de lieu par Schah Abbas le Conqueror, lequel s'empara de ce pays, mena le peuple esclave en Hispahaam, & donna permission à ces pauvres bannis de faire une ville à demi lieu d'Hispaam. . . ."

<sup>15</sup>Rhodes, pp. 436-437/p. 227. Lucas seems to have seen the same tombs fifty years after Rhodes. Cf. his description, II, p. 267, of "a plain where there are a great many tombs. The stone which cover them are of a very beautiful pellucid alabaster, with which many of the mountains



Julfa was not even mentioned by Niccolao Manucci as he passed through it, but he did discuss it in connection with New Julfa. He noted that the inhabitants were originally from Julfa on the Araxes, three days journey from Tabriz, and that it was while he was at Julfa that he "saw an eclipse of the sun in the middle of the day, beholding the stars as in a dark night."<sup>16</sup> Then, in a remarkable re-interpretation, he added that "They left that place with the permission of [emphasis added] Shah 'Abbās, coming with their families and all their belongings to found this new Zulfah. . . ."<sup>17</sup> Daulier-Deslandes likewise mentioned Old Julfa only in connection with New Julfa, noting that "Shah 'Abbās it was who allowed them [emphasis added] to come."<sup>18</sup>

The earliest adequate description of the ruins of this town by a traveller is that of Poulet, who passed through Julfa in the summer of 1659, over fifty years after Shah 'Abbās destroyed it. His description is worth reproducing:

The old remains of this town indicate that it had been one of the best built in these environs; the houses there were all of stone, which is a rather extraordinary thing in Persia, and the public places are reasonably large. The site of this town is enclosed between two large sheer rocks,

---

in the vicinity are full." ("une plaine où il y a une quantité prodigieuse de sepulchres. Les pierres qui les couvrent sont d'un tres bel albâtre transparent, dont quelques montagnes voisines sont pleines.")

<sup>16</sup>Manucci, p. 39. The date of the eclipse was 12 August 1654; cf. *ibid.*, n. 5. Manucci's initial omission is simply due to the extreme brevity of the earlier portion of his narrative, wherein he merely notes [p. 20] that the journey from Erevan to Tabriz took five days.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>18</sup>Daulier-Deslandes, p. 47/p. 25.

more vertical than a wall, which serve as an enclosure for it, and which surround it like an amphitheater; so that it has only a very narrow passage to the two ends of the town, which is scarcely greater than a fairly big river-bed; which goes through the town, and which is crossed with a ferry.<sup>19</sup>

Pouillet also noted that the town was totally destroyed and that its only inhabitants were "four or five unfortunate creatures, who live in hovels."<sup>20</sup> Finally, he, too, felt that Shah 'Abbās was motivated by humanitarian instincts:

Shah-Abbas transferred all of its Citizens to Hyspahan; because previously they were too often exposed to the incursions of the Turks, and because he wanted to preserve this people who managed all the trade in his lands. In fact, the Julfalines had reason to miss their town, because it seemed that nature had taken pleasure in fortifying it and in embellishing its surroundings.<sup>21</sup>

Pouillet's description cannot match that of Chardin, who provides another example of the reasons for which his account is so highly regarded.

<sup>19</sup>Pouillet, II, p. 159:

Les vieux vestiges de cette ville marquent qu'elle a esté des mieux basties de ces quartiers-là; les maisons y estoient toutes de pierres, qui est vne chose assez extraordinaire en Perse, & les lieux publics raisonnablement grands. Le Scituation de cette ville est enfermée entre deux grands rochers escarpez, & plus droits qu'une muraille, qui luy servent de closture, & qui s'arondissent comme un amphitheatre; en sorte qu'il n'y a qu'un passage fort estroit aux deux extremités de la ville, qui n'a guere plus de largeur que le lit d'un fleuve passablement grand; lequel traaverse cette ville, & que l'on passe avec un baq.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 159-160, "quatre ou cinq malheureuse creatures, qui habitent dans ces masures."

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 160:

Cha-abbas en transféra tous les Citoyens à Hyspahan; parce qu'ils estoient auparavant trop souvent exposés aux incursions des Turcs, & qu'ils vouloit conserver ce peuple qui conduit tout de commerce dans ses estats. Au reste les Guilfalins avoient suet de regretter leur ville, parce qu'il semble que la nature avoit pris plaisir à la leur fortifier, & à embellir ses campagnes.

Both in his description of the ruined city and in his understanding of the motives of Shah 'Abbās, he displays an observant and scholarly nature which was rarely equalled by other travellers:

It [the Araxes] is crossed at Eski Julfa, or Julfa the Old, a ruined town, which several authors believe to be that which the Ancients called Arriammene. It is called old, to distinguish it from a town of Julfa, which is built opposite Ispahan. There is in truth reason to call the former old; because it is completely ruined and demolished. Except for the grandeur that it had, it is no longer known; it was situated on the slope of a mountain, along the river and its banks. The entrances, which are naturally difficult and strong, were guarded by many fortresses. The town had four thousand houses, according to the Armenians; however, to judge by the ruins, it could not have had half that, yet the majority were only caves and caverns made in the mountain, more fitting to house flocks than to lodge men. I do not think that there was a locality on earth more barren and horrible than that of Old Julfa. One sees neither trees nor grass. In truth, there are more pleasant and fertile places in the vicinity; but the fact remains true that the town could hardly have been located in a drier and rockier place. As a compensation its plan was attractive, resembling a long amphitheater. Presently there are only about thirty families which are all Armenian there.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup>Chardin, II, pp. 303-304:

On le passe à Esquijulfa, ou Julfa la vieille, ville ruinée, que quelques auteurs croyent être celle que les Anciens appelloient Arriammene. On l'appelle vieille, pour la distinguer d'une ville, de Julfa, qui est bâtie vis-à-vis d'Ispahan. On a véritablement raison d'appeler celle-ci vieille; car elle est toute ruinée et abattue. On n'y connoît plus rien, excepté la grandeur qu'elle avoit; elle étoit située sur la pente d'une montagne, le long du fleuve, et sur ses bords. Les avenues, que sont naturellement difficiles et fortes, étoient gardées par plusieurs forts. La ville avoit quatre mille maisons, à ce que disent les Arméniens; cependant, à en juger par les ruines, il n'y en pouvoit pas avoir la moitié, encore n'étoit-ce la plupart que des trous et des cavernes, faits dans la montagne, plus propres à retirer des troupeaux qu'à loger des hommes. Je ne pense pas qu'il y ait au monde un endroit plus stérile et plus hideux que celui de Julfa la vieille. On n'y voit ni arbre, ni herbe. A-la-vérité, il y a dans le voisinage des endroits plus heureux et plus fertiles; mais toujours est-il vrai qu'il ne se peut voir

Chardin went on to discuss 'Abbās' "scorched earth" policy, noting that not only Julfa, but Naxiḡewan and other places along the same line were destroyed in order to prevent the Turkish army from obtaining provisions. 'Abbās

resolved to make a desert of the lands between Erzerum and Tauris, along the line of Irivan and Nacchivan, which was the route that the Turks usually took, and where they were strong, because they found enough supplies there to provide for their army. He thus moved the inhabitants and the livestock; he destroyed all the buildings; he put all the fields and trees to the torch; he even poisoned many fountains, as history relates; and those who have read it, know that he was completely successful.<sup>23</sup>

Tavernier's account, the publication of which preceded Chardin's by ten years, could have served as Chardin's model, though it is less detailed and informative than the latter's. Still, there are points of

---

de ville située en un lieu plus sec et plus pierreux. La figure en étoit belle en récompense, ressemblant à un long amphithéâtre. Il n'y a présentement qu'environ trente familles qui sont toutes arméniennes.

One hesitates to argue too forcefully for evidences of any rapid repopulation of Julfa during the fifteen years separating Pouillet and Chardin, even though such a trend seems probable. The problem lies with Pouillet, whose continued and extravagant use of hyperbole renders most of his figures suspect. We have already seen his comparison of Ararat with the Mont Valerien; in that passage and throughout his work he frequently used such terms as "an infinity of". In this instance, his "four or five unfortunate creatures" probably referred to more, though how many cannot be determined.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 304-305:

résolus de faire un désert des pays qui étoient entre Erzurum et Tauris, sur le ligne d'Irivan et de Nacchivan, qui étoit la route que les Turcs tenoient d'ordinaire, et où ils se fortifioient, parce qu'ils y trouvoient des vivres suffisamment pour faire subsister leur armée. Il en transporta donc les habitans et le bétail; il ruina toute sorte d'edifices; il mit le feu par toutes les campagnes, et aux arbres; il empoisonna même plusieurs fontaines, à ce que l'histoire rapporte; et ceux qui l'ont lue, savent que cela lui réussit tout-à-fait bien.

similarity, especially in Tavernier's laconic description of the ruins of Julfa which "had never had any beauty; the rocks were rudely assembled without cement, and the buildings looked more like caves than homes."<sup>24</sup> He, too, attributed the destruction of the town to 'Abbās' order to leave nothing behind for the Turks.<sup>25</sup>

Still echoing Tavernier, though less slavishly, Gemelli felt that the Armenians were moved to Isfahan "that they might not be left expos'd to the continual incursions of the Turks,"<sup>26</sup> and Julfa, with only a few Armenians living there, was not much of a town anyway, "being a heap of mud, and of caves underground."<sup>27</sup>

The next traveller to discuss Julfa, Villotte, did not add anything substantial to the earlier accounts beyond the statistic noted above on population. He thought that the Araxes was as large as the Seine but much swifter and followed Tavernier and Chardin in his analysis of 'Abbās' policies.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, Paul Lucas in 1700 saw a town still totally ruined and unpopulated. He, too, described it as having been built on the plan of an amphitheater, but then he made an interesting statement. He claimed

<sup>24</sup>Tavernier, p. 46, "ait jamais eu aucune beauté; les pierres estoient grossièrement assemblées sans ciment, & les bastimens ressembloient mieux à des caves qu'à des maisons." Chardin, II, pp. 303-304, "encore n'étoit-ce la plupart que des trous et des cavernes, faits dans la montagne."

<sup>25</sup>Tavernier, p. 46.

<sup>26</sup>Gemelli-Careri, II, p. 20/p. 108.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-21/p. 108.

<sup>28</sup>Villotte, pp. 187-188.

that "there is, on top of the mountain a large square column of white stone with an inscription which notes that it is the great Scha Abbas who destroyed the town, and who took away the inhabitants."<sup>29</sup>

The nearby and likewise ruined town of Naxi<sup>j</sup>ewān can also be surveyed through our sources, although it is treated much less extensively. Of our two earliest travellers, Cartwright failed to provide a description of it, so we have only Newbery's brief remarks for the time prior to its destruction by Shah 'Abbās. He described "Naxnan" as "a good Towne," and one "which hath great plentie of victuals, and especially Angour, and also hath Silke."<sup>30</sup>

Most of the remaining travellers simply noted the town's almost total destruction and commented upon its ruins, as did Pouillet who saw only "a pile of broken walls, built more of earth and crude bricks than of stone."<sup>31</sup>

It remained for Chardin to again provide a more adequate description:

Nacchivan is a large destroyed town, or rather it is a large and prodigious mass of ruins which is being rebuilt and repopulated little-by-little. The heart of the town is presently rebuilt and inhabited; there are great bazaars; these are, as we have said, long arcades or covered streets, full of shops on both sides where all sorts of merchandise and commodities are sold. There are five caravanserais,

---

<sup>29</sup>Lucas, II, pp. 266-267, "il y a sur le haut de la montagne une grande colonne de pierre, blanche quarrée avec une inscription qui marque que c'est le grand Scha Abbas qui a détruit la Ville, & qui en emmené tous les habitans." No other traveller mentions this column.

<sup>30</sup>Newbery, p. 468. I accept with thanks Professor Charles Issawi's suggestion that "Angour" is the Persian Angur, grapes.

<sup>31</sup>Pouillet, II, pp. 157-158, "vn ames du murailles rompuës, plus basties de terre, & de briques cruës, que de pierres." See also Philippe de la Tres-Sainte Trinite, p. 91, and Tavernier, p. 39.

baths, markets, big smoking and coffee houses, and approximately two thousand houses. The Persian histories affirm that there had been forty thousand at other times.<sup>32</sup>

He then mentioned the ruined forts and fortresses and the policy of Shah 'Abbās which produced them and remarked that it was "truly a pitiful thing that this town is in the state it is at present."<sup>33</sup>

When Gemelli passed through Naxiġewan twenty years later he noted that

In the new city, there is but one long and narrow street, with one good Bazar, and four large and excellent caravanseras, for the conveniency of the many caravans, that of necessity must pass that way. The suburb is small, with houses built like caves. Near the city is a great brick-building, above seventy spans high, and octangular, ending like an obelisk. The entrance is through a great gate, within which, there are winding stairs up to two towers, that are on the sides, and have no connection with

---

<sup>32</sup>Chardin, II, pp. 297-298:

Nacchivan est une grande ville détruite, ou plutôt c'est un grand et prodigieux amas de ruines, qu'on relève et qu'on repeuple peu-à-peu. Le coeur de la ville est présentement rebâti et habité; il y a de grands bazars, ce sont, comme l'on a dit, de longues galeries, ou rues couvertes, pleines de boutiques d'un côté et d'autre, où se vendent toute sorte de marchandises et de denrées. Il y a cinq caravanserais, des bains, des marchés, de grands cabarets à tabac et à cahvé, et deux mille maisons, ou environ. Les histoires persiennes assurent qu'il y en a eu autrefois quarante mille.

Villotte, p. 192, repeats the figure of forty thousand houses and claims to have heard it from the local people, though he remained skeptical. Whether this was his actual source, whether he copied Chardin, or whether both used a common source is impossible to determine positively. On the one hand, Villotte's editor definitely knew Chardin's work, since he cited it at times [cf. e.g., pp. 80-81, p. 247], as he did others, including Tournefort [p. 65, p. 81]. This very fact, on the other hand, establishes his care as a scholar and leads us to assume he would be inclined to do so here, had Chardin's work been consulted. Still, given the times, he would not have been unscrupulous had he failed to mention it in this instance. The resettlement of Naxiġewan probably developed out of a need for a town mid-way between Erevan and Tabriz.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 299, "à-la verité un objet pitoyable que cette ville, en l'état où elle est encore à présent."

the obelisk. They say it was erected by Tamerlane, when he went to conquer Persia; The city and country is govern'd by a Cham [Khan].<sup>34</sup>

Unlike Julfa, which remained in ruins, Naxiĵewan seemed to be experiencing something of a renaissance in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Given Chardin's description, Naxiĵewan appears as a continuing commercial center of some importance. When Villotte passed through there early in 1691, he was warmly received by the "Zaraf-Bashi, i.e. the Keeper of the Money, an Armenian and good Catholic."<sup>35</sup> Such an official might not be found in inconsequential places and his presence might be further proof of the status of the town. Finally, Gemelli was extorted by some officials there, which prompted him to remark that "Nakcivan is the most troublesome place in Persia . . . and like another Erzerum in Turkey."<sup>36</sup> While such experiences could and did happen in any number of places, they were more likely to occur in larger towns, and Naxiĵewan's medial location on the important Erevan-Tabriz trade route probably functioned to maintain it as one.

That the two prevailing images of war and trade were primarily those of the particular route (most often the heavily-travelled Erzurum-

<sup>34</sup>Gemelli-Careri, II, pp. 19-20/p. 108. The description of the cave-like houses is obviously copied from Tavernier, as above, p. 173. That of the building supposedly erected by Tamerlane is likewise borrowed from Tavernier, pp. 40-41, who also described the ruins of a large mosque, believed to have been built in memory of the tomb of Noah.

<sup>35</sup>Villotte, p. 191, "Zaraf-Bachi, c'est-à-dire, l'Intendant de la monnoie, Armenien, bon Catholique." Exactly what function this official performed is as yet unclear; he might have been anything from the local treasurer upwards. This interesting reference also lends support to the traditional views that individual dhimmis could enjoy some measure of mobility and hope for advancement.

<sup>36</sup>Gemelli-Careri, II, pp. 18-19/p. 108.



Erevan-Tabriz route)<sup>37</sup> and not of Armenia in general does not perhaps need to be stated. Yet, it is all too easy to transform specific impressions obtained on a particular road into a picture of a country or people at large. That such extensions sometimes occurred should not be surprising, though our travellers are usually careful to attribute their physical observations to a limited area only. Nevertheless, to further minimize these tendencies we shall continue to deal with the towns and countryside on an area-by-area basis, covering as much of the country as possible given the information available.

Erzurum was the first Armenian city reached by Westerners on many itineraries and there is a great deal of information available on it. Most of it, as we have already seen with reference to other topics, is rather late, dating from the mid-seventeenth century or later. In fact, the sole description of Erzurum before La Boullaye went through there in 1647, comes from John Newbery, nearly seventy years earlier.<sup>38</sup>

As usual, Newbery's description is frustratingly brief: "Arzerum is a plentiful Towne for all kind of victuals, and hath three gates."<sup>39</sup> La Boullaye's is even less useful, as knowing that a town is "middling large"<sup>40</sup> does not add too much to our knowledge. Nor does the description

<sup>37</sup>On the revival of trade over this route in the nineteenth century, after a decline throughout the eighteenth, see Charles Issawi, "The Tabriz-Trabzon Trade, 1830-1900: Rise and Decline of a Route," International Journal of Middle East Studies, I, 1 (January, 1970), 18-27.

<sup>38</sup>This is not to say that no travellers passed through Erzurum and wrote about it, though there is little doubt that the incessant Ottoman-Safavid wars and the Jelali disturbances discouraged travel in that area until the Peace of 1639. Still, Tavernier's first voyage took him that way c.1630 and Poser preceded him in the early 1620's. This latter's work, as has already been noted (Chapter Two, n. 8) has so far proved unobtainable.

<sup>39</sup>Newbery, p. 470.

<sup>40</sup>La Boullaye, p. 69, "mediocrement grande." La Boullaye's stay of

of Alexandre de Rhodes prove any more incisive, limited as it is to an acknowledgement of Erzurum as "the most beautiful and well-known [town] in all lower Armenia."<sup>41</sup> Manucci is only a slight improvement, as he noted that there "are to be found many Armenians, for it is a town with a great trade. . . . Good bread and plentiful supplies are found in the town, but the Turks there are dishonest boors; they examined our baggage with great severity (a common occurrence at this town, one of which all travellers complain)"<sup>42</sup> The most curious brief description of Erzurum is found in Pouillet's work, where he dismissed it by sneering that "it has nothing which merits describing it."<sup>43</sup> Daulier-Deslandes, who travelled through Erzurum in 1664 and again in 1665, continued this strange

---

sixteen days was particularly frustrating as the caravan was being delayed by the Turkish officials until larger duties could be exacted. In addition, he himself was afraid to go out of his room for fear of being abused because he was a Frank. Even though he was travelling *à la turque*, this seems to have made little difference, since he knew no Turkish and had therefore to feign dumbness. His narrative dwells on these problems and his failure to provide an adequate description of Erzurum is therefore understandable.

<sup>41</sup>Rhodes, p. 447/p. 232. Not only is Rhodes' account very brief in the section from Isfahan to Constantinople, but he was generally unconcerned with geographical matters, preferring the religious and edifying.

<sup>42</sup>Manucci, p. 17. Manucci's brevity and the reasons for it have already been noted above [n. 16]. Most of this information is well-known, of course, but one should pay special attention to Manucci's virtually automatic association of Armenians with trade: Erzurum is an important trading town, therefore one will find many Armenians there. This image of the Armenian as merchant and trader is the one most frequently encountered and its detailing and consideration will form an important part of our next chapter.

<sup>43</sup>Pouillet, II, p. 90, "elle n'a rien qui merite qu'on en fasse la description." Apparently, Pouillet was a hard man to impress.

series of terse descriptions by noting only that Erzurum was "about four days' journey from the Black Sea; as it is on the Turkish frontier, there is a severe customs examination."<sup>44</sup>

Too much should not be read into this succession of brief notices, for the reasons that have been set forth in the accompanying notes. We are simply faced with one of those situations where the gaps and glosses of our sources peak, and produce a sum total of information on Erzurum which is disappointingly meagre.

Happily, the remaining sources are better and, starting with Tavernier, allow us to see Erzurum as a rather thriving commercial city, as well as an important frontier outpost. Tavernier first described its general appearance and its fortifications:

Erzerom, a Turkish frontier town facing Persia, is situated at the end of a large plain full of good villages and surrounded by high mountains. If the suburbs and fortresses are included, it could pass for a large town, but the houses there are badly built being only of wood and earth without order. One sees only some ruins of churches and of buildings of the ancient Armenians, by which it can be judged that it did not have great beauty. The fortress is on a prominence, and surrounded by a double enclosure of walls, with a sorry moat and square towers which are rather close to one another. The Basha makes his residence there, and is badly housed there, as all the buildings which surround the fortress are in a bad state. In the same enclosure there is a hillock on which has been built a small fort, which is where the Janissary-Aga lives, and where the Bacha has no power. . . .

Between the first and second gate of the fortresse there are twenty four cannons on the right side, which are altogether handsome but without mounts and on top of each other. They were brought to Erzerom to be used in the case

---

<sup>44</sup>Daulier-Deslandes, sig. e/p. 3, "éloignée de la Mer noire d'environ quatre journées. Comme elle est frontiere de Turquie, il y a une Doâne fort rude." Once again, this seeming dismissal of Erzurum is entirely due to the plan of the work as Daulier summarized his entire outward voyage from Paris to Isfahan in little more than one page. The concern of his Les Beautez de Perse was limited to Persia proper and anything outside of that is dealt with summarily.

of war between the Grand Seignor and Persia, which is rather common between these two Empires.<sup>45</sup>

This description can be supplemented by that of Avril who was there in 1685. Where Tavernier saw Erzurum as a decaying town, Avril saw it differently:

Erzurum, or Arzeron, is a City of Turkey, upon the Frontiers of Persia, seated in a pleasant Plain, about seven or eight Leagues in circuit, and border'd on every side with little Hills that rise insensibly one above another; . . . 'Tis near about as big as Marseilles, encompass'd with a double Enclosure of Walls, after the Ancient manner, with a little high seated Citadel that commands it. The Subburbs are very large and well peopl'd: The Air is wholesome; the Water excellent, and in great plenty. In a Word, every thing concurs to make it one of the best Cities of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup>Tavernier, pp. 17-18:

Erzerom ville frontiere de Turquie du costé de la Perse, est assise au bout d'une grande plaine remplie de bons villages & environnée de hautes montagnes. En comprenant les faubourgs & la forteresse elle peut passer pour une grande ville; mais les maisons y sont mal basties n'estant que de bois & de terre sans aucun ageancement. On y void seulement quelques restes d'Eglises & de bastimens des anciens Armeniens, par où l'on peut juger qu'il n'y avoit pas grande beauté. La forteresse est sur une eminenence, & entourée d'une double ceinture de murailles, avec un méchant fosse & des tours quarrées qui sont assez près l'une de l'autre. Le Bacha y fait sa demeure, & y est tres-mal logé, tous les bastimens qu'enferme la forteresse estant en mauvais estat. Dans le mesme enceinte il y a une bute sur laquelle on a élevé un petit fort, qui est la demeure du Janissaire-Aga, & où le Bacha n'a aucun pouvoir. . . .

Entre la premiere & la seconde porte de la forteresse on voit à main droite vingt quatre pieces de canon, qui sont parfaitement belles, mais sans affust & les unes sur les autres. On les mena à Erzerom pour s'en servir aux occasions des guerres que le Grand Seigneur peut avoir contre la Perse, qui sont assez ordinaires entre ces deux Empires.

<sup>46</sup>Avril, pp. 50-51/p. 45:

Erzerum ou Arzeron, est une Ville de Turquie, frontiere de la Perse, située dans une agréable campagne de sept ou huit lieues de circuit & bordée de tous côtes par

Erzurum's pleasant location is also described by Villotte who took more notice of it:

It is situated in a defile in the mountains, which form a sort of amphitheater to the North, South and East and from which, on the western side, is exposed as far as the eye can see a plain full of villages: its air is very serene, and its waters are very good; the soil there is rich in excellent wheat, and no fruit, which the great cold prevents when fruit trees are planted; for although the town is only at forty-two degrees latitude, the winter is vividly felt and does not last less than five whole months; the Missionary has seen the streets there full of snow in June: Georgia, not far away, and supplied with what it lacks, provides it with very beautiful fruit in abundance and delicious wines.<sup>47</sup>

Villotte's colleague Monier described Erzurum in terms similar to previous travellers, emphasizing the decaying double walls, and the "chateau" in disrepair.<sup>48</sup> Gemelli put its circumference at two miles, which is

---

de petites collines qui se surpassent insensiblement les unes les autres, . . . Sa grandeur est à peu pres comme celle de Marseille: elle à une double enceinte de murailles à l'antique avec une petite Citadelle fort élevée, qui la commande: les Fauxbourgs sont extremement étendus, & fort peuplez; l'air y est bon, les eaux excellentes, & en grande quantité; en un mot tout semble concourir pour en faire une des meilleures Villes de tout l'Empire Ottoman.

<sup>47</sup>Villotte, pp. 49-50:

Elle est située dans une gorge de montagnes, qui forment au Septentrion, au Midi, & à l'Orient, comme autant d'amphitheatres d'où l'on découvre de côté du Couchant une plaine à perte de vûe, remplie de beaux villages: l'air y est tres-serein, & les eaux y sont très-bonnes; le sol y est fertile en excellent froment, & nullement en fruits, que le grand froid empêcheroit de meurir quand on y planteroit des arbres fruitiers; car quoique la ville ne soit qu'à quarante-deux dégrez de latitude, l'hyver s'y fait sentir vivement, & n'y dure pas moins que cinq mois entiers; le Missionnaire y a vû les rues pleines de neiges au mois de Juin: la Georgie qui n'en est pas éloignée supplée à ce qui lui manque, & lui fournit en abondance de fort beaux fruits, & des vins délicieux.

<sup>48</sup>Monier, p. 298.

less than Avril's seven or eight leagues, but very close to the figure of three miles which Lucas cites.<sup>49</sup> Thus, the general impression is of less than military preparedness, and some degree of disrepair with regard to the physical aspects of the town. This image is strengthened by Gemelli's description of narrow and unpaved streets, "Mean" bazaars, and low houses made of mud or wood, and Tournefort's of the fine springs thereabout, "which not only water their Fields, but the very Streets of the Town."<sup>50</sup>

Nevertheless, the town had a sizeable Armenian population. The few statistics cited do not allow us to determine which ethnic group was in the majority, despite Gemelli's comment that it was mostly Armenian.<sup>51</sup> Four other virtually contemporary sources provide information on this problem at the end of the seventeenth century. Villotte gave a figure of 8-10,000 Armenians, almost as many Turks, and about as many Greeks, Georgians, and foreigners when taken together; Monier said there were 7-8,000 Armenians, 150 Greeks, but 18,000 Turks; Tournefort provided statistics for both the city and its province: in the former there were 6,000 Armenians, 400 Greeks, and 18,000 Turks, of which 12,000 were Janissaries, while in the entire province there were 60,000 Armenians, 10,000 Greeks, and 50,000 Turks; and Lucas mentioned only 10,000 Armenians.<sup>52</sup>

It thus seems reasonable to assert that as late as 1700 the Armenian

<sup>49</sup>Gemelli-Careri, I, p. 386/p. 98; Lucas, I, p. 230.

<sup>50</sup>Gemelli-Careri, I, p. 386/p. 98; Tournefort, II, p. 259/p. 194.

<sup>51</sup>Gemelli-Careri, I, p. 386/p. 98.

<sup>52</sup>Villotte, p. 94; Monier, p. 298; Tournefort, II, p. 260/p. 195; Lucas, I, p. 230.

population exceeded the Turkish in the vicinity of Erzurum, especially if Tournefort's figure on the Janissaries is correct. More statistics are of course necessary before any definite pronouncement can be made, but the trend does appear clearly.

There is no disagreement on Erzurum's raison d'être, however. Our later sources are unanimous: Erzurum owed its existence to commerce. It was, according to Villotte, "a town of great commerce, being like a rendez-vous for merchants, who transfer Persian goods to Turkey and Turkish ones to Persia. There are few days when enough caravans do not arrive to produce a purse of 500 écus a day for Custom."<sup>53</sup> And Monier remarked that "caravans arrive continually. Since it is known as the surest passage between Turkey and Persia, it is also the most frequented: thus

---

<sup>53</sup>Villotte, p. 49, "une ville d'un grand commerce, étant comme le rendez-vous des Marchands qui font passer leurs marchandises de Perse en Turquie, & de Turquie en Perse. Il est peu de jours qu'il n'y arrive des caravanes, ce qui produit à la Douane une bourse, c'est-à-dire, cinq cens écus par jour." Tournefort, II, p. 262/p. 196, gave the same value for a "purse", as did Monier, p. 299, who added that the Erzurum area paid the Sultan over 600 "purses" a year. The Ottoman "purse" [kis or kise] was the equivalent of 60,000 akçes [500 piastres]; see Issawi, EHME, p. 521. The problem of rates of exchange, as well as that of weights and measures is an extremely complex one. Travel literature abounds in references to most European terms, in addition to those of Turkey, Persia, and India, and their proper study, correlation and valuation in modern equivalents remains to be done. Wherever possible, I have attempted to make some sense of them, but I make no claims at having even made a satisfactory beginning. In addition to the valuable appendix on weights, measures and currency in his EHME, which deals with the Arab and Ottoman lands, Professor Issawi has prepared a similar one for his The Economic History of Iran, 1800-1914 [hereafter EHI] (Chicago: 1971), pp. 387-390. Similarly, V. Ball, ed., Travels in India, I, pp. 327-335, has provided a useful "Appendix on the values of Coins, Weights and Measures referred to by Tavernier." This "Appendix" is based on Tavernier's own section on "Monnoyes de Perse," II, p. 6 of the original 1676 edition of his Six Voyages. A similar table is to be found in the first English edition, p. ix (as well as in later editions), with which Ball's findings, I, p. 328, n. 1, agree exactly. Based on Isaac Newton's estimate in 1717, and Tavernier's valuation, the écu was worth about 4s.6d. Thus 500 écus were equal to something over £112.0.0.

Erzerum is always full of foreigners."<sup>54</sup> To accommodate the transients, "there are in the suburbs only, twenty two caravansera's for the caravans of Persia."<sup>55</sup> Also, the English had a consul there at the end of the seventeenth century, which further attests to both the town's and the route's commercial importance. This Englishman's name was Prescott, and he was mentioned by four of our sources from that period. Villotte, who took refuge in Prescott's caravansarays during some persecutions of the Jesuits in 1692, called him a rich merchant and described him in this manner:

this generous Englishman, who, except for his Religion, was endowed with all the qualities which make up a perfectly honest man, and even a true Christian; in the time of the persecution had given the Jesuits all the help they depended on from him, including his offering to be their security to the Basha. Their exile did not change his attitude toward them, on their return, he received them with every demonstration of tender friendship, in which neither the difference in Nationality nor Religion could cause the slightest change.<sup>56</sup>

Two years later, Gemelli was in Erzurum (with Villotte, who was returning to Armenia from Constantinople) and:

---

<sup>54</sup>Monier, pp. 298-299, "il y arrive continuellement des caravanes. Comme c'est le passage connu pour le plus sûr entre la Turquie et la Perse, il est aussi le plus fréquenté: ainsi Erzerum est toujours rempli d'un grand nombre d'étrangers."

<sup>55</sup>Gemelli-Careri, I, pp. 386-387/p. 98.

<sup>56</sup>Villotte, pp. 265-266:

ce généreux Anglois, qui, à sa Religion près, étoit doué de toutes les qualitez qui font un parfait honnête homme, & même un vrai Chrétien; dans le tems de la persécution avoit donné aux Jesuites tous les secours qui dépendoient de lui, jusqu'à s'offrir à être leur caution auprès du Basha: leur exil ne le fit pas changer pour eux, il les reçut à leur retour avec toutes les démonstrations de la plus tendre amitié, à laquelle ni la diversité de Nation, ni la différence de Religion n'avoient pû causer la moindre altération.



I took a stately room in the Caravansera, near the custom-house, that I might often enjoy the company of Mr. Prescott, an English merchant, who acted as consul, and liv'd opposite to me. He coming to bid me welcome, carry'd me home, and entertain'd me well at dinner and supper, being sorry he could not treat me, as he would have done in Christendom, because the country does not afford those dainties that are to be had in Italy, and other parts; but he tormented me with often drinking to me, requiring I should do the same, which I could not.<sup>57</sup>

Lucas stayed with him in September, 1700,<sup>58</sup> and by the time Tournefort arrived there the following summer, Prescott had already "been ten or twelve Years Consul for the English Nation."<sup>59</sup>

Apparently, his home was one of Erzurum's gathering places since, Tournefort continued:

When we were not upon the hunt [for plants], we went to have a little Conversation at the English Consul's, where there is always good Company. 'Tis the Rendezvous not only of the richest Armenian Merchants, but of all manner of Strangers whatsoever. M. Prescott is the most of a Gentleman of any Man in the World, extremely good natur'd, and prevented [*i.e.*, anticipated] our Wishes in every thing that might be a Gratification to us: I am even afraid the Natives abuse his Goodness, for they beset him continually. Tho he is not of the Roman Communion, yet he performs all manner of good Offices to the Missionaries; he often gives them Lodging in his House, and assists them in their Entrance and Departure from the Country with abundance of Charity.<sup>60</sup>

And, on his return from Erevan and Ararat, Tournefort went immediately "the same day to embrace Mr. Prescott the English Consul, our very good Friend, who would have taken the charge of our Clothes, Money, and dry'd Plants."<sup>61</sup> All in all, Prescott seems to have been a kind and interesting

<sup>57</sup>Gemelli-Careri, I, p. 385/p. 98.

<sup>58</sup>Lucas, I, p. 230.

<sup>59</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 278/p. 208.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 279/p. 209.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 383/p. 286.

man, about whom much more ought to be known.<sup>62</sup>

Evidently, money was to be made in Erzurum, and since money is never far removed from the concerns of everyone -- especially travellers, who must usually manage on a fixed budget -- it is no wonder that prices figure prominently in many accounts. This aspect of travel is of a primary interest beginning with our first traveller, Newbery, who noted that "in Arzerum one Batman of Mel or Deps, is worth two Auctshas,"<sup>63</sup> and that "Anil, is worth heere twentie Chekins the Batman."<sup>64</sup> But he did not approach the problem systematically, preferring instead to make random, brief notes regarding commodities, prices, duties, etc. As a matter of fact, virtually all of this material is in "raw" form, cited by one or another traveller in passing. It is exceedingly interesting, not to say valuable, material, but it requires its own special study and is not

<sup>62</sup>I have as yet found no other references to Mr. Prescott; he is not mentioned in DNE.

<sup>63</sup>Newbery, p. 470. The batman was a measure of weight of considerable variation. W. Barthold, "Batman," EI<sup>1</sup>, I, 680, gives a range from 300 lbs. [the batman of Bukhara] to 5 3/4 or 11 1/2 lbs. [the two batmans of Persia]. Col. Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, new edn. ed. by William Crooke (London: 1903, repr. London and Delhi: 1968) [hereafter Hobson-Jobson], pp. 563-564, give a range from 163 1/4 lbs. [the Palloda man of Ahmadnagar] to 2 lbs. 3 oz. [the Jeddah man] with the Tabrizi man at slightly less than 7 lbs. Newbery's pages reflect these variations but provide no English equivalents [e.g. "The Batman of Wan or Van is two and an halfe of Teuris" (p. 468)]. In the 1660's, Daulier-Deslandes, pp. 8-9/p. 7, reported that the Persian batman had two principal parts, the man-i-shah of 12 lbs. and the tabriz of 6 lbs., "which latter is in general use throughout the greater part of the kingdom." But Tavernier, p. 19, gives the weight of the batman as sixteen livres, or pounds, each livre being sixteen ounces. Issawi, EHI, p. 389, equates the Mann-i Tabriz with the batman and gives its equivalent at about 2.950 kg., or 6.49 lbs., which is the value accepted herein, unless otherwise noted. "Mel" is probably Pegolotti's "Mele" [see Pratica della Mercatura, p. 422 et passim], Armenian meŕr, honey. Deps remains to be identified.

<sup>64</sup>Newbery, p. 470. Anil is indigo; see OED, I, 332 and Hobson-Jobson, p. 31. The Chekin is clearly the Venetian zecchino, or sequin,

directly relevant to our concerns, both because it is not to any great extent the stuff of which images are made, and because, to whatever degree it does function in that regard, it is a subject usually identified with the paying of duties or tribute. And such payment is always to either a Turkish or Persian official or highwayman, never to an Armenian, who usually suffers the same exactions. Certainly the image of the Armenian as merchant is paramount, as we shall see, but it seldom seems to involve matters as specific as prices.<sup>65</sup> We shall therefore include this information where it seems appropriate primarily to make it available.

Still, there is considerable material in these sources on customs and prices at Erzurum. Tavernier provided over a page of duties on various goods, especially silk, going through Erzurum,<sup>66</sup> as did Tournefort, though less extensively;<sup>67</sup> Gemelli included some prices.<sup>68</sup>

Finally, Tournefort mentions that:

THIS Town is the Thorow-fare and Resting-place for all the Merchandizes of the Indies, especially when the Arabs are upon the watch round Aleppo and Bagdad. These Merchandizes, the chief whereof are the Silk of Persia, Cotton, Drugs, painted Cloths, only pass through this Country. Very

---

and was valued by Newton at 9s.5d. [Ball, "Appendix," p. 328.] See also Hobson-Jobson, p. 193 [under "Chick"].

<sup>65</sup>Coryat's experience notwithstanding. See above Chapter Two, n. 85.

<sup>66</sup>Tavernier, pp. 18-19.

<sup>67</sup>Tournefort, II, pp. 262-263/pp. 196-197.

<sup>68</sup>Gemelli-Careri, I, p. 387/p. 98. A day's supply of bread could be had for one Tornese (equal to one penny), 30 lbs. of "bisket" for one Carline (equal to six pence), and five eggs for a penny. The English equivalents are provided by the translator in the Churchill edition.

few of them are sold here by retail; and they would let a sick Man die for want of a Dram of Rhubarb, tho there were ever so many intire Bales of it. They sell nothing but the Caviar, which is a most odious Dish.<sup>69</sup>

Despite this inference that few victuals were available, most travellers were able to provision themselves adequately. In fact, the sole item which really seemed to be scarce was wine, the lack of which elicited two comments from Tavernier. Apparently not only was the wine produced in the area not particularly good, but the traditional Muslim prohibitions were also strongly enforced. One was thus forced to rely either on a white Mingrelian wine, which was "always green", or to provision oneself with an adequate supply at Tokat, where it was excellent. Either way, one had to be very careful in drinking it, though this did not prevent some Muslims from privately extorting bottles of it.<sup>70</sup> But it is to Tournefort that we must again turn for the final word on the wine of Erzurum:

'Tis very well for Strangers that their Water is good, for their Wine is the most abominable stuff that ever was touch'd. 'Twould be some comfort for all their Ice and all their Snow, and one might make a shift to bear with their stinks, if their Wine were tolerable; but it is stinking, mouldy, tart, and smells rotten: Vin de Brie would be reckon'd Nectar here. Their Brandy is no better; it is musty and bitter, and more than all this, it costs no small Pains and Money too, before even these filthy Beverages can be got. The Turks affect more Severity here than any where else, and take mighty delight in surprising and bastinading those that carry on such Trades: in my mind they are not so much to blame, for 'tis very good service to the Publick, to hinder the Sale of such unwholesome Drugs.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup>Tournefort, II, pp. 262-262/p. 196. He says further that "Caviar is only the Spawn of the Sturgeon salted, which is prepared about the Caspian Sea," and then adds that it "burns the Mouth with its high Seasoning, and poisons the Nose with its nasty Smell."

<sup>70</sup>Tavernier, pp. 17-18.

<sup>71</sup>Tournefort, II, pp. 259-260/p. 194. Monier, p. 299, referred to Erzurum wine as "détestable".

As though that was not enough, shortly thereafter, he added the ultimate insult: "'Tis a common Proverb here, that if a Breakfast were to be presented to the Devil, he should be treated with Coffee without Sugar, Caviar, and Tobacco; I should add a Glass or two of Erzeron-Wine to the Bill of Fare."<sup>72</sup>

As we have seen in Chapter Three, the next major stop after Erzurum for travellers going east was usually Kars, despite Tavernier's claim that the main route went more directly through the countryside and forded the Araxes several times. Kars, like Erzurum, was seen as a frontier town, both in terms of defense and in terms of trade, though it was definitely less noteworthy, judging by the lack of details in most of the accounts. In fact, our earliest description of it is by Pouillet in 1659:

This town is enclosed by a circle of walls, & does not seem to be any more extensive than one of our moderately large market-towns in France. It has a citadel attached to it, equal in extent to the town itself, but which is placed on a completely inaccessible high rock and fortified by a huge wall built in the ancient fashion and set off on all sides by a row of battlements.<sup>73</sup>

Tavernier had even less to say, noting only that "This town is very large but not very populated although provisions there are excellent and

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 262/p. 196.

<sup>73</sup>Pouillet, II, p. 105:

Cette ville est fermée d'un tour de murailles, & ne paroist pas plus considerable qu'est en France un de nos bourgs mediocrement grand. Il y a un chasteau attaché à cette ville, d'une paroisse estenduë qu'est la ville meme; mais qui est place sur un rocher par tout inaccessible, & fortifie d'un gros mur construit à l'antique, & rehaussée par tout d'un rang de créneaux.

very cheap."<sup>74</sup> He explained that the lack of people was a result of the incessant wars, as we have already seen, and added nothing else. Villotte, who passed through Kars for the first time early in 1689, described it as the

last town in Turkey on the frontiers of Persia, fortified a little like Erzerom, and through which caravans pass only with difficulty, not only because of the Customs which are one and a half écus per load, but because of the many Border Guards, who, under the pretext of warding off robbers, are real robbers themselves.<sup>75</sup>

A few years later, Gemelli-Careri also passed through Kars. After first referring to it as a frontier town and echoing Tavernier's account of a small population as a result of the Turco-Persian wars, he provided a better picture:

Kars is seated in Turcomania. Its shape is long, looking towards the south, and two miles in compass, on the side of a rising ground. Its two walls are of earth, with small towers, two gates, and as many bridges on the side of the river and suburb. The fort which stands on the rocks, is inaccessible on that side next the river. In it is a good garrison, out of which every night a detachment of forty horse goes to scour the country on the frontiers. The houses by reason of the thinness of the inhabitants are more like dens, made of timber and mud. For 130 years last past, since subject to the Ottoman empire, it has always been govern'd by a Bassa; rather out of jealousy because it is a frontier than because the greatness of the place deserves it.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup>Tavernier, p. 22, "Cette ville est fort grande, mais mal peuplée quoy que les vivres y soient excellens & à grand marché."

<sup>75</sup>Villotte, pp. 57-58:

derniere ville de Turquie sur les frontieres de Perse, fortifiée à peu près comme Erzerom, & dont le passage est redoutable aux caravanes, non seulement par la Douane qui prend un écu & demi par charge, mais par la multitude des Gardes de Frontieres, qui, sous prétexte d'en écarter les voleurs, sont de vrais voleurs eux-mêmes.

<sup>76</sup>Gemelli-Careri, I, p. 402/p. 102.

Lucas, in 1700, found it small and square, with double walls and only one bazaar, the countryside pleasant, "but the people very wicked and much inclined to thievery."<sup>77</sup> Finally, Tournefort noted its border position and then described it as

built upon a Bank, expos'd to the South-South-East. The Compass is almost square, and somewhat bigger than half of Erzeron. The Castle of Cars is very steep upon a Rock at the top of the Town. It seems pretty well kept up, but 'tis defended only by old Towers. The rest of the Place is like a kind of Theater, behind which is a deep Valley, steep on every side, and thro the middle of that runs the River.<sup>78</sup>

Tournefort also reaffirmed Villotte's statement concerning the venality of the Turkish officials there, by noting that "CARS is not only a dangerous Town upon account of Thieves, but the Turkish officials also generally make great Exactions from Strangers."<sup>79</sup> His subsequent difficulties and entanglements with Turkish officials are not only amusing, but instructive in seeing the development and perpetuation of the classic image that still prevails of Eastern procrastination and -- to Western thinking -- convoluted logic. Unfortunately, the account of it is too lengthy and not really relevant to our purposes. Suffice it to say that their successful settlement required the intercession of another important official, the liberal application of money . . . and the promise to treat the fistula in ano of another Aga, or important person.

Kars, then, was definitely viewed as an important Turkish stronghold -- Tournefort remarked that it could "be made one of the strongest

<sup>77</sup>Lucas, I, p. 242, "mais les peuples tres méchants, & tous enclins à voler."

<sup>78</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 290/p. 217.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 291/p. 218.

Places in the Levant"<sup>80</sup> -- and customs check. It did not have any particular Armenian identification, though, for as in Erevan, Christians and/or foreigners had to leave the fortified or inner City at dusk.<sup>81</sup>

This term City, and others, requires some clarification. The main defensive position in these towns was usually the citadel or fortress which was naturally the most heavily fortified. Surrounding that and also protected by another set of walls was what will be referred to as the City, in its classical sense, as in London's "City" or Paris' "Cité". Sometimes equivalent to the City, but on occasion outside of it, was the market-area, or bourg, referred to as "town"; this in turn could be the same as the usually unwalled suburb, or faubourg. While the use of these terms is straightforward enough, a difficulty is introduced in some of the French sources, which use the term ville for either the City, the town, or, on occasion, both. These varying usages can generally be differentiated by the context, which will be done as we proceed.

Like Erzurum, which was its Persian counterpart at the eastern end of the main route through Armenia, Tabriz was seen as an important commercial city.<sup>82</sup> In fact, Tabriz was the very symbol of the international

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 296/p. 221

<sup>81</sup>At one point Tournefort was becoming nervous because "AFTER having danc'd attendance a long while, we were told we should run the risque of lying in the Streets, if we did not make haste into the Suburb where our Caravan-serai was. Tho the Turks and Persians live together in as much Peace as can be wish'd, they never the less shut the Gates of their Town at Sun-set." [Ibid., II, p. 292/p. 218.] See also Chardin's remark below, to the effect that the Armenians of Erevan closed their shops in the garrison at night and retired to their homes outside.

<sup>82</sup>One striking difference was to be found in the fact that, unlike Erzurum and most other Eastern cities, Tabriz had no defensive walls. This interesting point is mentioned by Cartwright, p. 43, Tectander, p. 51, La Boullaye, p. 88, and Chardin, II, p. 320. Tom Coryat, who was there late in 1614, remarked: "More wofull ruines of a city (saving



entrepôt, as we can see already in Newbery's account which consisted of nearly a page of prices and equivalents then current there.<sup>83</sup> Cartwright's account of it emphasized the sixteenth century wars between the Ottomans and Persians, though he did remark that it was "wonderfull rich, as well by the perpetuall concourse of merchandizes, that are brought thither from the countries of Europe; as also of those that come thither out of Western parts, to be distributed ouer all the East."<sup>84</sup> La Boullaye said it was "the most commercial [town] of Asia,"<sup>85</sup> and Rhodes exclaimed that "in all my travels I never saw a city larger, more populous, or more mercantile than that one, or where anything was cheaper. I myself saw that for one penny we had as much bread as a man could eat in a week."<sup>86</sup> Daulier-Deslandes called it "the meeting ground of merchants from Turkey, Muscovy, and the Indies -- coming for every sort of trade, and especially for silk; as a consequence it is thickly populated, rich, and well supplied with every commodity."<sup>87</sup> Chardin did not know "if there is any kind of merchandise for which a shop could not be found."<sup>88</sup> For Tavernier it

---

that of Troy and Cyzicum in Natolia) never did mine eies beholde," [Letter I," Foster, Early Travels, p. 242].

<sup>83</sup>Newbery, pp. 467-468.

<sup>84</sup>Cartwright, p. 43. He added that they "paid a dolour on a summe of goods, and fiue Shaughes to the keeper of the Caine wherein we lodged" [*ibid.*, p. 46]. The Shaughe or shahi was worth about 4d. in the latter part of the seventeenth century; see Ball, "Appendix," p. 330 and Lockhart, Fall, p. 406, n. 1.

<sup>85</sup>La Boullaye, p. 88, "C'est Ville est la plus Marchande de l'Asie."

<sup>86</sup>Rhodes, p. 436/pp. 226-227. The French sol was roughly equivalent to a penny at this time; see Ball, "Appendix," p. 328.

<sup>87</sup>Daulier-Deslandes, p. 10/p. 8.

<sup>88</sup>Chardin, II, p. 327, "s'il y a sorte de marchandise dont l'on ne puisse y trouver magazin."

contained "an infinity of Merchants and all sorts of merchandise,"<sup>89</sup> and its "great traffic . . . makes this town renowned all over Asia."<sup>90</sup>

Inextricably associated with this commerce, Armenians lived there in large numbers, though exactly how large is impossible to determine. In fact, there are few figures given for the city's total population, though what there are seem relatively close. Thus Cartwright gives a figure of 200,000 in 1600, Chardin thought it was at least 550,000 in the 1670's, which seems rather high, and Villotte and Gemelli in the 1690's cited 300,000 and 250,000 respectively.<sup>91</sup>

Nevertheless, there was a large Armenian population in Tabriz. Daulier explained that "The great trade in silk, which is brought from Gilan, and the many other industries which flourish here, have attracted a great number of Armenians, who have settled down and live peacefully."<sup>92</sup> The same idea is expressed in Tavernier's remark that "Many Armenian families who lived there have done well in commerce, and understand it better than the Persians."<sup>93</sup>

Despite its large Armenian population, Tabriz cannot be considered an Armenian town, but only a town with Armenians living in it, a distinction, as we can see, clearly understood by the travellers. For this

<sup>89</sup>Tavernier, p. 51, "une infinité de Marchands & de toutes sortes de marchandises."

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., "grand trafic . . . rend cette ville renommée par toute l'Asie."

<sup>91</sup>Cartwright, p. 43; Chardin, II, p. 327, who added that some important local people tried to tell him there were more than 1,100,000 ["onze cent mille"]; Villotte, p. 175; and Gemelli-Careri, VI, p. 25/p. 109.

<sup>92</sup>Daulier-Deslandes, pp. 13-14/p. 9.

<sup>93</sup>Tavernier, p. 51, "Plusieurs familles Armeniennes qui n'y sont habituées ont acquis du bien dans le trafic, & l'entendent mieux que les Persans."

reason, there is no need to pursue our examination of it any further. Its significance for us lies in its strong identification with trade and the association -- which is slowly being demonstrated -- of Armenians with these matters. Certainly not seen as part of Armenia in the same sense as Erevan or even Erzurum, Tabriz nevertheless came to be thought of in the same mercantile terms which applied to them.

Erevan, on the other hand, was unquestionably the main town of Armenia and the center of Persian power and administration vis-à-vis the Turks. At first it was described only as "the main fortress of the country,"<sup>94</sup> Later, although it continued to be important militarily, other associations emerged, such as that of Père Philippe, who reported that, of all the Armenians towns, Erevan was "the first in dignity, if not in size,"<sup>95</sup> because its bishop was the Armenian patriarch. Rhodes also recognized it as "the principal city of Armenia,"<sup>96</sup> as did Villotte.<sup>97</sup> Tournefort referred to it as "a considerable City, and the Capital of Persian Armenia,"<sup>98</sup> and Monier did likewise, adding that it was "the only important place that the king of Persia has in Armenia."<sup>99</sup>

Because of its strategic location, few travellers through Erevan failed to take notice of its fortifications, and we can easily discern

<sup>94</sup>Tectander, p. 60

<sup>95</sup>Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, p. 90, "la premiere en dignité mais non pas de grandeur."

<sup>96</sup>Rhodes, p. 438/pp. 227-228.

<sup>97</sup>Villotte, p. 65.

<sup>98</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 340/p. 255.

<sup>99</sup>Monier, pp. 298-299, "la seule place importante que le roi de Perse possède en Arménie."

its military image as viewed by them. These fortifications were first mentioned by La Boullaye, who believed that it was Shah 'Abbās "who fortified it and encircled it with walls of earth which could not otherwise sustain cannon."<sup>100</sup> But Tectander's statement that the "town resisted for five weeks until the lack of supplies forced it to surrender to the Persians, who massacred the greater part of the inhabitants,"<sup>101</sup> implies the existence of fortifications before 'Abbās' arrival. Hammer confirms their prior existence by describing the walls, their rapid construction before the Persian army arrived, and the siege itself at some length.<sup>102</sup> Unfortunately, there is a discrepancy in the duration of the siege. Tectander's time of five weeks simply does not agree with Hammer, who has the siege lasting six months, from November, 1603, to May, 1604.<sup>103</sup> In this instance, Hammer is more or less correct as we have independent corroboration from the Armenian historian Aṙak'el Davrižec'i that the siege was a long one.<sup>104</sup>

Be that as it may, our present concern is with the nature and extent of Erevan's later fortifications and the town's importance as a Persian stronghold, and, while La Boullaye may have been wrong about who built the fortifications, there is no question that they were there and

<sup>100</sup>La Boullaye, p. 82, "lequel le fit fortifier & entourer de quelques murailles de terre qui ne pourroient autrement souffrir le canon."

<sup>101</sup>Tectander, p. 62, "La ville résista pendant cinq semaines jusqu'à ce que le manque de vivres la força de se rendre aux Persans, qui massacrèrent la plus grande partie des habitants." Tectander, *ibid.*, also noted that the fortress number 40,000, most of whom were fugitives [fuyards] from Tabriz.

<sup>102</sup>Hammer, J.-J. Hellert, trans., VIII, pp. 40-42, 59-61.

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 40-41, 59.

<sup>104</sup>Aṙakel Davrižec'i, chapter 3, writes that the siege ended in its ninth month.

that they contributed to the town's defense. What is important to discuss is the fact that it was the garrison -- alternately Turkish or Persian -- which was fortified, not the entire town. As we have already seen, these accounts tend to be rather confusing on the matter, often referring to "la ville" and "la forteresse" interchangeably, as with Tectander in 1603 and La Boullaye forty-five years later.<sup>105</sup> Passing through Erevan in 1654, Manucci also noticed that "The town is enclosed by very thick and strong walls of earth, so that cannon would not be able to do as much damage as they would on a wall of stone."<sup>106</sup>

On the contrary, five years later, Pouillet described Erevan in this fashion:

The City that is called the citadel has an extent scarcely greater than the enclosure of the Palace at Paris. Its walls and its towers have only an average thickness and height, and are built merely of earth applied as one applies pure plaster without rubble to make a chimney-flu.<sup>107</sup>

Even though they were only made of earth, they still did their job, as Pouillet added that they had successfully withstood six weeks of attack

<sup>105</sup>Tectander, p. 62. In one paragraph, he referred to 40,000 Turks in the "fortress", and in the next to the resistance of the "town". La Boullaye, p. 82, similarly referred to Erevan as a "small town" in upper Armenia and as a "fortress" at the foot of Mount Ararat.

<sup>106</sup>Manucci, p. 17. This quotation is, of course, from the English translation, there being no complete published original version with which we can compare it.

<sup>107</sup>Pouillet, II, p. 126; in this context, "ville" clearly refers to the citadel:

Cette ville qu'ils appellent le chasteau, n'a guere plus d'estenduë que l'enceinte du Palais à Paris. Ses murailles & ses tours n'ont qu'une épaisseur & une hauteur fort commune, & ne sont bastis que d'une terre appliquée de la maniere qu'on applique le plastre tout pur sans moillō pour faire le tuyau d'une cheminée.

and an "infinite number" of cannon shots, thereby giving "this citadel the reputation of being an impregnable place; because Amurath had not taken it."<sup>108</sup> Pouillet went on to discuss the assault of Murad IV and, although the historical details he cited are not of direct concern, the very fact that he is cognizant of these events adds another, learned, dimension to the association of Armenia with the Turco-Persian theater of war. The physical evidence could thus be supported and interpreted by historical knowledge, often of a rather specific nature, and would lead to an even more vivid impression of Armenia as a battle ground.

We can see this trend especially well in the brief mention by Daulier-Deslandes, who devoted less than a page to his impressions of Armenia, and only the following two sentences to Erevan: "A ten days' journey beyond [Erzurum], is Erivan, a little town on the borders of Persia, where the Turks and the Persians fought furiously in former days. Many Armenians live there, for it is their native country."<sup>109</sup> Other travellers are more conversant with this history than Daulier or Pouillet, and we shall point them out from time to time, as we survey the military aspect of Erevan.

Jan Struys, who claims to have been in Erevan in 1670, again forces us to question his reliability when he pictured Erevan as "not very wide, but sufficiently munited with strong walls of stone, being about the greatness of Alcmaar in North-Holland."<sup>110</sup> What can he be describing?

---

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126, "à cette ville la reputation d'une place imprenable; parce-qu'Amurath ne l'auoit pas prise."

<sup>109</sup> Daulier-Deslandes, sig. e/p. 3.

<sup>110</sup> Struys, p. 213. In this version, Struys uses the word "City" to describe Erevan, no doubt using it in its general sense. The Dutch was not available for comparison.

No one else refers to anything but walls of earth, as Tavernier did in his description:

Although the City has this river which functions as a moat to the west, it is no stronger for it; for on the other side of the river, there are only hills considerably higher than the City. As it is built on the rock, the moats of the fortress are no more than three or four feet in depth. In some places the City has a double enclosure of walls with several towers; but since these walls are only of earth as are all the houses, the rain would affect them worse than the cannon.<sup>111</sup>

Chardin's description is, as usual, more exact and is worth citing at length:

The garrison could pass for a small town; it is oval, having a circumference of four thousand paces, and some eight hundred houses. Only native Persians live there. The Armenians have shops there, where they work and trade all day long; in the evening, they close them and return to their houses. This garrison has three walls of earth or clay-bricks as battlements, flanked by towers and fortified by very narrow ramparts, in the ancient manner of fortifying, and so without any symmetry as is the fashion in the East. It has also been difficult to give it symmetry because the citadel extends to the northwest, along the brink of a frightful precipice, huge and sheer, more than a hundred fathoms in depth, at the bottom of which flows the river. This impregnable and inaccessible place has no fortifications other than bankments of artillery. Two thousand men are maintained to guard the citadel; it has as many gates as wells, and they are all faced with iron and strengthened with barriers, portcullis and fortified guard-houses. The palace of the governor of the province is in the garrison, on the brink of the precipice about which we spoke. It is handsome and very large and quite delightful in the summer.

---

<sup>111</sup>Tavernier, p. 34:

Quoy que la ville ait cette riviere qui luy sert de fossé à l'occident, elle n'en est pas plus forte; car de l'autre côté de la riviere ce ne sont que des collines bien plus hautes que la ville. Comme elle est batie sur le roc, les fosses de la forteresse ne sont au plus que de trois ou quatre pieds de profondeur. La ville en quelques endroits a une double ceinture de murailles avec plusieurs tours; mais ces murailles n'estant que de terre comme toutes les maisons, le pluye y feroit plus de mal que le canon.

Near the fortress, only a thousand feet to the north, there is a hillock which overlooks it. Its summit has been fortified by a double wall and by artillery. It can accommodate two hundred men. This small fort is called Queutchy-cala.<sup>112</sup>

The town is a cannon-shot distant from the citadel. The area between the two is full of houses and stores, but their construction is so slight that they could be seized entirely in one day.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>112</sup>Turk. Klçuk-kale = small fort. Langlès, the editor of this edition of Chardin, translated the term in the same manner; cf. Chardin, II, p. 163, n. \*.

<sup>113</sup>Chardin, II, pp. 162-163:

La forteresse pourroit passer pour une petite ville; elle est ovale, ayant quatre mille pas de tour, et quelque huit cents maisons. Il n'y demeure que des Persans naturels. Les Arméniens y ont des boutiques, où ils travaillent et trafiquent le long du jour; le soir ils les ferment, et s'en retournent à leurs maisons. Cette forteresse a trois murailles de terre ou de brinques d'argile à créneaux, flanquées de tours et munies de remparts fort étroits, selon l'ancienne manière de fortifier, et ainsi sans régularité, à la façon de l'Orient. Il eût même été difficile de faire l'ouvrage régulier, parce que la forteresse s'étend au nord-ouest, sur le bord d'un épouvantable précipice, large et escarpé, de plus de cent toises de profondeur, au fond duquel passe le fleuve. Cet endroit imprenable et inaccessible n'a point d'autres fortifications que des terrasses garnies d'artillerie. Deux mille hommes sont entretenus pour la garde de la forteresse; elle a autant de portes que de murs, et elles sont toutes revêtues de fer, et munies de barrières, de herses, et de corps-de-garde fortifiés. Le palais du gouverneur de la province est dans la forteresse, sur le bord du précipice dont on vient de parler. Il est beau et fort grand, et tout-à-fait délicieux en été.

Proche de la forteresse, à mille pas seulement, du côté du nord, il y a une butte qui la commande. On en a fortifié le haut d'un double mur et d'artillerie. On y peut loger deux cents hommes. Ce fortin s'appelle Queutchy-cala.

La ville est éloignée de la forteresse d'une portée de canon. L'espace d'entre deux est rempli de maisons et de marchés; mais la construction en est si mince, qu'en un jour tout cela se peut enlever.



Chardin's description definitely indicates Erevan's military importance to the Persians, in addition to making it seem a sizeable market town as well. The sketch which he provided<sup>114</sup> shows the town to much better advantage than Tavernier's and depicts the City, the suburb or town at a distance from it, the countryside and even Mount Ararat, with Noah's Ark upon it.

Later descriptions made the City seem less significant. Gemelli saw it in rather sorry shape:

Its whole circumference is but a mile, with a deep ditch, a double wall, and bastions of earth, subject to be beaten down with cannon, and wash'd away with the rain. Nor are the houses any better, and inhabited only by a few traders and the garrison. It has three iron gates; and but a few, and those small pieces of cannon. The Bazar is indifferent. The palace of the Cham or governor fronts the river, and is as great as earth can make it.<sup>115</sup>

But this condition could well have been due to the destruction caused by a great earthquake which is mentioned by Villotte:

It [Erevan] is neither as large nor as populated as it was before a frightful earthquake around 1676 destroyed most of its houses, and buried half of the inhabitants under the ruins. It is nevertheless still regarded by the Persians as a bulwark against invasion from the Turks; it is for this reason that they name it Kala, which is to say citadel or fortress par excellence. Since it is on the frontiers of two Empires, it has always been the theater of war between the Persians and the Turks.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>114</sup>Chardin, XI [Atlas volume], plate VII.

<sup>115</sup>Gemelli-Careri, II, p. 10/p. 105.

<sup>116</sup>Villotte, pp. 65-66:

Elle n'est ni si grande, ni si peuplée, qu'elle étoit avant qu'un effroyable tremblement de terre vers l'an 1676. en eût renversé la plupart des maisons, & enseveli sous les ruines la moitié des habitants. Elle ne laissoit pas d'être encore regardée par les Persans comme un boulevard qui les mettoit à couvert de l'invasion des Turcs; c'est pour cela qu'ils ne lui donnoient alors que le nom de Kala, c'est-à-dire, de château & de forteresse par

Still, the suburb was rather pleasant, as Gemelli described it:

It is twenty times as big as the city, most of the traders, and all the artificers and Armenians living in it. There is an excellent Bazar and Meidan along the city wall; but there is an infinite number of ruin'd houses, by reason of the continual wars betwixt the Turks and Persians, which have reduc'd the city and country about it, to a deplorable condition. The whole compass is about \*en miles, for the most part enclos'd with a work thrown up of earth, and by the neighbouring hills, which in time of war, might much endamage the city. All this space produces excellent wine, and abounds in delicious fruit, beside pleasant poplar, and willow-trees.<sup>117</sup>

Our last three travellers, Monier, Lucas, and Tournefort, present the same picture. Their descriptions of the garrison are virtually identical to Chardin's with regard to its fortifications, shape and the exclusion of Christians from the City.<sup>118</sup> Also, at one point, Lucas found himself in a debate over the relative merits of French power and Erevan fortifications. After bragging to some important Armenians about the great conquests and deeds of the French king, one of the Armenians rebutted that:

all the Franks together could not take Erevan; since the author of such a stupid discourse awaited my response, he was given tit for tat. The Franks, I said to him, would not want to take the trouble; but they would have only to send the smallest number of their dogs to urinate against the walls for them to fall down.<sup>119</sup>

---

excellence. Comme elle est frontiere des deux Empires, elle a été de tout tems la theatre de la guerre entre les Persans & les Turcs.

<sup>117</sup>Gemelli-Careri, II, p. 13/p. 106. The meydan was the public square or place of assembly and will be described below.

<sup>118</sup>Monier, p. 299; Lucas, II, pp. 253-254, who described the rock on which the governor's palace was built as so steep that the lower windows were twice as high as the towers of Nôtre-Dame in Paris; Tournefort, II, pp. 341-342/pp. 255-256.

<sup>119</sup>Lucas, II, p. 257:

tous les François ensemble ne pourroient pas prendre

This trenchant rejoinder seemingly persuaded most of them, as the host tried to assuage his guest by noting that the particular Armenian knew nothing of world history anyway, and that he even believed that no other land was equal to Erevan.

These later travellers provide additional information as well, for instance regarding the population of Erevan, but there is too little of it to make any positive determinations: Lucas counted 1,200 houses in the City, and put the size of the garrison itself at 1,500 men as compared to Tournefort's 800 houses and garrison of 2,500, most of whom were traders.<sup>120</sup> The only general estimate of the population of Erevan is to be found in the pages of Monier, who thought that it had about 4,000 people, one quarter of whom were Armenian.<sup>121</sup> These figures are therefore insufficient to allow us to generalize, but they do indicate the likely range which further investigation might confirm.

Used with the earlier accounts, these later ones also enable us to see the town, and especially the meydan as the travellers did. Chardin

---

Erivan; comme l'auteur d'un si sot discours attendoit ma reponse, il fut payé sur le champ. Les François, luy dis-je, ne voudroient pas s'en donner la peine; mais ils n'auroient qu'à y envoyer la plus petite partie de leurs chiens pisser contre les murailles pour les mettre en bas.

Such obvious evidences of superior attitudes on the part of Westerners are not yet common, and the few there are tend to come toward the end of the seventeenth century, rather than before. They seem to be a product of the growing individual and national confidence vis-à-vis the Ottomans, and to a lesser degree the Safavids, which would later ensure the success of an Abduction from the Seraglio, instead of the earlier Türkenblüchlein. See Roderic H. Davison, Turkey (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: 1968), p. 66, and John W. Bohnstedt, "The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. LVIII, 9 (1968).

<sup>120</sup>Lucas, II, pp. 253-254; Tournefort, II, p. 341/p. 355.

<sup>121</sup>Monier, p. 298.

referred to it as

the name given in Asia to all the great market-places. Erevan's is square, & is four hundred paces in diameter and surrounded by trees. It is the place for tournaments, races, wrestling, horsemanship and for all manner of excursions on foot or horses.

There are many baths in the town and in the garrison and many caravanserais as well. The best of these is only 500 paces from the garrison. The governor of Armenia<sup>122</sup> built them a few years ago. The portal is eighty paces in depth and forms a handsome gallery, which is full of shops where all sorts of Stuffs are sold. The body of the building is square. It contains three large quarters and sixty small, with large stables and many ample warehouses; in front of it there is a market surrounded by shops, where all kinds of food is sold and to the side there is an attractive mosque and two coffee houses.<sup>123</sup>

Lucas described this area in similar terms and said that it was the most attractive spot of all, and Tournefort was also favorably impressed.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>122</sup>The governor of Armenia at this time was Sefi-Kuli-Kan, according to Chardin, II, p. 196.

<sup>123</sup>Chardin, II, pp. 164-165

on appelle en Asie Maydan, toutes les grandes places. Celle d'Irivan est carrée; elle a quatre cents pas de diamètre, et elle est entourée d'arbres. C'est le lieu des carrousels, des courses, de la lutte, de manège et de tous les exercices un peu forts, qui se font à pied et à cheval.

Il y a beaucoup de bains dans la ville et dans la forteresse, et beaucoup de caravanserais. Le plus beau de tous est proche du château, à cinq cents pas seulement. Le gouverneur d'Arménie l'a fait bâtir depuis peu d'années. Le portail a quatre-vingts pas de profondeur, et forme une belle galerie, qui est remplie de boutiques, où l'on vend toute sorte d'étoffes. Le corps de l'édifice est carré. Il contient trois grands logemens et soixante petits, avec de grandes écuries et avec beaucoup d'amples magasins; au-devant il y a un marché entouré de boutiques, où l'on vend toute sorte de provisions de bouche, et à côté une belle mosquée et deux cabarets à cahvé.

<sup>124</sup>Lucas, II, p. 255; Tournefort, II, p. 344/pp. 257-258.

Their overall opinion of Erevan was quite favorable, as indeed were those of most travellers.

In fact, existing along side the dual impressions of Armenia as war-torn and important commercially was the somewhat contradictory but nonetheless present one of a bountiful and well-provided country. Food was plentiful and cheap, the countryside attractive and for the most part well-populated, except in a few places.

In many ways, this impression is the most persistent of all, at least for the country as a whole, while the usual opinion of the Armenian cities emphasized those other aspects we have already seen. Tectander was the first to describe the countryside around Erevan as "pleasant and fertile."<sup>125</sup> Elsewhere he added that it "produced cotton, silk and all kinds of fruits in abundance."<sup>126</sup> Manucci's description was very much the same: "The country round is fresh, fertile, delicious, abounding in oil and fruit."<sup>127</sup> He very much enjoyed his sojourn in Erevan not only because of the special treatment provided the embassy of Viscount Bellomont, but because this pleasure was "enhanced by seeing ourselves in a land of plenty, and in the midst of a people more polite than those we had just left behind."<sup>128</sup> Chardin thought little of Erevan as a town, calling it "ugly and dirty"<sup>129</sup> but liked the countryside which was "rather pleasant and very fertile. The fruits of the earth are there in abundance, above

<sup>125</sup>Tectander, p. 60.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>127</sup>Manucci, p. 17.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>129</sup>Chardin, II, p. 161, "laide et sale."

all wine, which is very good and cheap."<sup>130</sup> For Monier, Erevan was "in a charming plain, rich in all kinds of fruits and grains, abundant in rice and cotton, with attractive vineyards and broad pastures. The great number of villages and of handsome country estates agreeably located, give this town a delightful aspect."<sup>131</sup>

Tournefort said that Erevan was located in "one of the finest Vales of Persia, consisting of Meadows intermingled with Orchards and Vineyards,"<sup>132</sup> and that "At Erivan there is very good living. Partridges are common, and Fruits are brought thither in abundance."<sup>133</sup> We have already seen Tournefort's acceptance of Aremnia as the location of the Terrestrial Paradise and need only add that he found many commodities in great quantities. The melons of Eymiacin, for example, were the best in the Levant and cheap, at thirty sols per horse-load.<sup>134</sup> And Lucas found that

The Provisions in this land are very cheap; meat, bread and wine cost practically nothing. I filled up my three goatskins which easily hold thirty-five or forty pints of excellent wine for thirty sols. They also have good trout

<sup>130</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 165, "assez agréable et tres-fertile. Les fruits de la terre y viennent en abondance, sur-tout le vin, qui est fort bon et à bon marché."

<sup>131</sup>Monier, p. 299, "dans une charmante plaine, fertile en toutes sortes de fruits et de grains, abondante en riz et coton, avec le beaux vignobles et de gras pâturages. Grand nombre de villages et jolies maisons de plaisance agréablement situées, donnent à cette ville une vue délicieuse."

<sup>132</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 341/p. 255.

<sup>133</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 344/p. 257.

<sup>134</sup>Tournefort, II, pp. 336-337/pp. 251-252. Tournefort was apparently so taken with these melons that he devotes an entire page to discussing them.

and good carp. A huge fish which was nearly two feet long cost me only ten sols there.<sup>135</sup>

To the northeast of Erevan, the situation was the same. It was described as a country "wherein there is the greatest variety that ever I saw in all my experience,"<sup>136</sup> and the "trout" of Lake Sevan were acclaimed by several travellers.<sup>137</sup> Even slaves were cheap at Erevan, if we are to believe Struys, who related that "the Dagestan Tartars come to buy there and [slaves] are there so cheap that a lusty well-bodied man is ordinarily sold for ten Crowns, as some of our Company were sold for the same price."<sup>138</sup>

Finally, Tavernier wrote that Erevan was "in a land abundant in all things for the lives of men, above all in good wine. It is one of the

---

<sup>135</sup>Lucas, II, p. 256:

Les vivres en ce pay sont à tres-bon marché; la viande, le pain & le vin n'y coûtent presque rien. Je fis emplir mes trois outres qui tiennent bien trente cinq ou quarante pintes d'excellent vin pour trente sols. On y mange aussi entre autres de bonne truites & de bonnes carpes. Un gros poisson qui avoit prés de deux pieds, ne m'y coûta que dix sols.

<sup>136</sup>Avril, p. 75/p. 68.

<sup>137</sup>Chardin, II, p. 166; Avril, p. 75/p. 68; Villotte, p. 89; Lucas, II, p. 256; Tournefort, II, p. 343, pp. 256-257. Tavernier, who did not refer to the fish, said the lake was ten leagues from Erevan. Chardin said it was three short-days' journey to the northwest, was twenty-five leagues in circumference, and was called Deriachirin, which he translated as "sweet lake" [lac doux] by the Persians and Kiagar-couni-sou [Arm. Getakuni; see Hübschmann, pp. 348, 417], meaning the same, by the Armenians. He added that he had seen fish three feet long. Avril thought it was about twenty leagues around, Villotte echoed Chardin's names, Monier, p. 299, agreed with Chardin's circumference but called it "Ag-tamar" and said it was two and a half day's journey off. Lucas put it ten or twelve hours away, and Tournefort copied Tavernier and Chardin. The only two who actually passed by it were Avril and Villotte.

<sup>138</sup>Struys, p. 214.

good Provinces of Persia, from which the King extracts great revenues, as much due to the excellence of the terrain as to the great traffic in Caravans.<sup>139</sup> He also said that the "Governor alone, also called the Kan of Erevan, has a yearly revenue of twenty thousand Tomans, which makes eight hundred forty thousand livres in our money."<sup>140</sup>

Other travellers also reported the revenue of Armenia in order to show what a rich and productive land it was. The income amazed Gemelli who wrote that "It is incredible how great an income these caravans bring to the king; because the custom-house being nothing severe, for no bales of goods are open'd, the merchants are willing to resort thither with the best commodities they can, paying but some small duty to the officers on the way."<sup>141</sup> Tournefort agreed with Tavernier's estimate that the Khan took in more than 20,000 tomans a year, but in the thirty years between Tavernier's time and Tournefort's that amount had risen in value to 900,000 livres.<sup>142</sup> Monier cited the same figures as Tournefort.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>139</sup>Tavernier, p. 33, "dans un pays abondant en toutes choses pour le vie de l'homme, sur tout en bon vin. C'est une des bonnes Provinces de la Perse, & dont le Roy tire de grands revenus, tant à cause de l'excellence du terroir, que pour le grand passage des Caravanes."

<sup>140</sup>Ibid. "Le Gouverneur seul appelé autrement le Kan d'Erivan a de revenu tous les ans plus de vingt mille Tomans, qui font huit cens quarante mille livres de nostre monnoye." The toman or tuman was equal to 50 abbasis, each of which was worth 4 shahis. In the reign of Shah 'Abbās (1587-1629) the tuman was worth about £3.7.0, but by the time of Nadir Shah (1736-1747) its value had fallen to £1.18.0. See Issawi, EHI, p. 387. Ball, "Appendix," p. 331, values it at a slightly higher £3.9.0. See also Hobson-Jobson, pp. 928-929. The amount in question would equal about £70,000.

<sup>141</sup>Gemelli-Careri, II, p. 13/p. 106.

<sup>142</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 343/p. 257. With the repetition of these figures the question of copying arises. In this instance, it seems likely that both Tournefort and Monier are copying Tavernier and that Monier probably depended on Tournefort as well.

<sup>143</sup>Monier, p. 300.



The views we have been surveying all developed out of the main Erzurum-Erevan-Tabriz route, but they apply more or less equally to that through Bitlis-Van-Tabriz as well, although the amount of information contained in these sources is not as extensive as for the more heavily travelled route to the north. Still, the works of Cartwright, Père Philippe, Pouillet, Tavernier, and Pétis de la Croix do give descriptions of Diyarbekir, Bitlis, Van and some of the other places along the route which make clear their importance as fortified towns. Brief examinations of two of these should be sufficient to demonstrate their similarity to the main route through Armenia.

Cartwright was the first of our travellers to go through Bitlis. He did not care for the town because it was "a City of much cruelty and oppression, where little iustice and right is to be found to relieue distressed passengers,"<sup>144</sup> but he offered no reasons to substantiate this claim. Most of his account of it dwelt on the Turco-Persian wars of the sixteenth century. On leaving the town, a duty of "a Dollar on a summe of goods,"<sup>145</sup> was paid to the governor. In comparison, Père Philippe's description was more detailed:

On the other side of this lake [Van] there is a town vulgarly called Bethlis, and Paguez<sup>146</sup> by the Armenians. It is located on the slopes of two extremely close mountains having no plain whatsoever in the middle, but only a stream which passes by the town as well, and which is produced from the waters of several springs which go out from various places. The houses there are handsome & built of stone, contrary to the custom and ways of these people, who ordinarily only build houses out of earth.

---

<sup>144</sup>Cartwright, p. 27.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid., pp. 28-29.

<sup>146</sup>Arm. Βαῖξ: See Hübschmann, p. 324; HB, p. 244.

On a rise in the middle there is a heavily fortified Citadel. It is abundant in grapes, apples, pears, plums and several other kinds of our fruits.<sup>147</sup>

A similar but abbreviated description was given by Pouillet, who thought that the stream "must have been the Araxes."<sup>148</sup>

The accounts of Tavernier and Pétis are roughly contemporary, if Tavernier passed through Bitlis on the return from his fifth voyage in 1667.<sup>149</sup> Pétis' from 1676 is shorter and mostly limited to the considerations of earlier sources, though he did add that it could be very cold and was always snow-covered, except in summer. The town was built of rubble, had a good citadel which was the seat of the ruling Kurdish prince, and every load of merchandise paid six piastres.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>147</sup>Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, p. 93:

De l'autre costé de cette mer il y a vne ville appellé vulgairement Bethlis, & des Armeniens Paguez. Elle est scituée sur le penchant de deux montagnes extremement serrées, n'y ayant du tout point de plaine au milieu, mais seulement vn ruisseau qui leur passe au trauers aussi bien que de la Ville, & qui se forme des eaux de plusieurs fontaines qui sortent de des diuers endroits. Les maisons y sont belles & construites de pierre contre le coustume & l'vsage de ses peuples, qui ne bastissent ordinairement les maisons que de terre. Au milieu il y a sur vne eminence vn Chasteau tres bien muny. Elle est abondante en raisins, en pommes, en poires, en prunes, & en plusieurs autres sortes de nos fruites.

<sup>148</sup>Pouillet, II, pp. 408-409, "doit auoir esté l'Araxe." Pouillet is once again wrong. It is "the infant Tigris" (HB, p. 244), or Bitlis-çay.

<sup>149</sup>See above Chapter Three, n. 8.

<sup>150</sup>Pétis de la Croix, pp. 150-151. Tavernier, p. 275, gave the figure as five piastres. At about 4s.-4s.6d. per piastre (values courtesy of Professor C. Issawi), the duty was between £1.0.0 and £1.10.0.

Tavernier emphasized the difficult nature of the approach from

Aleppo:

An entire day is passed between the high, steep mountains which extend two leagues beyond, and on both sides there are torrents and mountain, the trail being hewn in the rock in many places, so that it is often necessary that the camel or mule pass very carefully so as not to fall into the water. The town is between two high mountains which are only a cannon shot apart, and the citadel is on a small hill equally distant from both mountains and about as high as the hill of Montmartre. It is in the shape of a sugar-loaf and so sheer on all sides that one can ascend it only by turning. The summit where the citadel is built is a great flat expanse and before reaching it you encounter three drawbridges.<sup>151</sup>

In addition to this, Tavernier described the two caravanserays in Bitlis, noting that the one inside the town was less frequented by merchants than the one just outside, mostly because of the possibility of flash-floods inundating the former. He also emphasized the tentative nature of Ottoman control in this area and the virtual independence of the Kurdish Beys; this independence seems to have been greater than that enjoyed by the

---

<sup>151</sup>Tavernier, p. 273:

En approchant de Betlis quand on vient d'Alep, on marche un jour entier entre de hautes montagnes escarpées qui continuent encore deux lieues au delà, & l'on a toujours de costé & d'autre les torrens & la montagne, le chemin estant taillé dans le roc en beaucoup d'endroits, de sorte qu'il faut souvent que le chameau ou la mule passent bien juste pour ne pas tomber dans l'eau. La ville est entre deux hautes montagnes qui ne sont éloignées l'une de l'autre que de la portée de canon, & le château est sur une butte également distante des deux montagnes, & environ de la hauteur de la butte de Montmartre. Elle est en pain de sucre, & si escarpée de tous costez qu'on ne peut monter qu'en tournoyant. Le haut est comme une grande plate forme où est bati le château, & avant que d'y arriver on trouve trois pont-levis.

Pasha of Erzurum, for instance, who owed his position more directly to the Sultan. Still, most of these eastern rulers did not have to worry too much about the power of the central government, since especially in the area around Bitlis and Van, the Sultan had more need of them and their troops than the reverse.<sup>152</sup>

In comparison to Bitlis, Van was much more important to the Porte and therefore more fortified. Cartwright's brief account of it dwelt on that aspect:

This City is double walled with hard quarry stone, and is the strongest Towne in all these parts, being fortified with great store of brasse Ordonance, and a strong Castle mounted on an high Rocke, to command and defend the City. . . . It is gouverned now by a Bassae, who hath vnder him twelue thousand Timariots.<sup>153</sup>

His companion, Midnall, merely noted that Van was "a city of great strength."<sup>154</sup> Père Philippe's description adds little to Cartwright's beyond his comment that there were very deep moats in addition to the cannons and the strong walls. He too did not note anything other than the town's military importance except for his meeting with a French surgeon named Fabre who was living there. Unfortunately, we learn nothing about this surgeon except that he was very hospitable.<sup>155</sup>

Similar ideas were expressed by Pouillet, who spent several weeks in Van. In his text and in an accompanying engraving, he emphasized the importance of Van as a frontier outpost, with a garrison of six to seven

<sup>152</sup>Ibid., pp. 274-275.

<sup>153</sup>Cartwright, p. 30. The timar was a fief from the Sultan and the timariot its holder, usually called sipahi or feudal cavalryman.

<sup>154</sup>Midnall, p. 53.

<sup>155</sup>Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, p. 22.

thousand men.<sup>156</sup> But Pouillet saw a danger in the large garrison:

the soldiers make the villagers miserable because of the need they find to defend themselves; because the Porte is powerless to protect them in these districts, where the commanders usurp an absolute power, & where they have no other concerns but thievery and lining their own pockets; but the common people in the villages are rather gentle, and the Christians, among the others, are quite good.<sup>157</sup>

By contrast, Pétis de la Croix referred to Van and its citadel in passing and limited his observations to noting that each load of merchandise paid thirty-six piastres, of which only twenty-seven went to the Sultan. He added that Van was a beylerbeylik with an annual revenue of 30,000 francs.<sup>158</sup> Finally, Tavernier's observations on the city of Van were restricted to a brief statement as to its strength, which was considerable, and to noting that the town had a large and mostly Armenian population.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>156</sup>Pouillet, II, pp. 362-363.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid., p. 363:

les soldats rendent les villageois meschans, par la nécessité dans laquelle ces villageois se trouvent de se défendre; parce que la Porte est dans l'impuissance de les protéger en ces quartiers-là, où les Commandans vsurpent un pouvoir absolu, & où ils n'ont point d'autres soins que de voler, & de s'enrichir; mais le commun du peuple dans les villes, est assez doux, & les Chrestiens, entre les autres, y sont parfaitement bons.

<sup>158</sup>Pétis de la Croix, p. 149. A beylerbeylik was a province under a beylerbey or governor. Thirty-six piastres was probably worth upwards of £7.0.0. Tavernier, p. 276, said the duty per horse was two tumans, four abbassis, adding that "although Van was in the lands of the Grand Seigneur, Persian money is preferred there, to that which is current in Turkey." Tavernier's duty would thus also equal about £7.0.0. The only meaningful comparison would be with the customs charged at Kars, which was set at one piastre, or Kağızman, where it was two piastres (Tavernier, p. 21), since both were frontier customs posts. The duties along the Van route seem to have been considerably higher than those by way of Erevan; this difference was probably an important factor in maintaining the importance of the latter route.

<sup>159</sup>Tavernier, p. 276.

Beyond what we have seen, these sources do not have much to say on Van at all, and the dominant impression is of the overriding military importance of this frontier area. In contrast, these towns were not mentioned in the same commercial terms as those to the north. Customs duties were paid, of course, but not much else of a mercantile nature was mentioned. Similarly, the countryside is given less consideration. Only Tavernier found it interesting enough to comment on it:

it is a pleasure to travel in all the lands of the Kurds. For if on the one hand the roads are crude and difficult, on the other hand there are many trees nearly everywhere, such as the oak, the walnut and other beautiful species, and none of them which do not have a great frame of wild vines encircling them to the top. Above [below?] the mountains, where the earth is level and flat, there is the best wheat and the best barley to be found anywhere.<sup>160</sup>

We have thus seen the development of three images related to Armenia. First, the cities were seen and described in terms which emphasized their military importance in a land where the sudden outbreak of war was an ever-present possibility. Evidences of ruin and damage from past wars combined with the obvious fortifications themselves to produce a picture of a country divided in two and probably slightly decaying.

---

<sup>160</sup>Ibid., p. 275:

c'est un plaisir que de voyager dans toute ce pays des Curdes. Car si d'un costé les chemins sont rudes & difficiles, on voit d'ailleurs presque par tout de grands arbres, comme chesnes, noyers & autres belles especes, n'y en ayant pas un qu'un gros sep de vigne sauvage n'embrace jusqu'au haut. Au dessus des montagnes ou la terre se trouve unie & en plaine, il y croist le meilleur bled & la meilleure orge de tout le pays.

Alongside that image was the equally urban one of commerce and trade as important functions of the Armenian cities, at least in the north. As a counterpoint to the first impression, however, the dominant view of Armenia as a whole was as a place of plenty.

What is interesting is that while the military image is restricted to the towns and their Muslim overlords, the commercial importance of the cities is reflected in standard clichés of the Armenians as shrewd traders and businessmen -- already wide-spread by the seventeenth century. Concurrent with this mercantile image is that of the Armenians as Schismatic Christians who would present a fertile ground for the ministrations of the many clerics who passed through the land. The development of these images is the subject of our next chapter.

## Chapter Six -- The Armenians

. . . an Armenian now was good for nought, saue as a Camel to transport merchandise from one city to another: implying that howsoever in antique times they had beene warlike and courageous, yet now they were become Buffelloes and Pultrones, altogether vnfit for martiall affaires.<sup>1</sup>

THE Armenians are the best People in the World, civil, polite, and full of good Sense and Probity. I should account them happy in not understanding the Use of Arms, if it were not by the Corruption of Mankind become necessary to use them sometimes, purely to defend our selves against the Violence of others.<sup>2</sup>

That Armenians in the seventeenth century were not the warriors they had been in earlier times was obvious to John Cartwright in 1600, and that they were simply not warriors at all was just as obvious to Tournefort one hundred years later. What Tournefort and many others seem not to have understood so readily was the existence of that older martial spirit among people who clearly did not evidence it in their own day.

Now, Cartwright's observation cited above and a subsequent one, in which he remarked that the Armenians were "a people rather giuen to the traffique of Silkes, and other sorts of wares, . . . then instructed in

---

-Cartwright, p. 25. We must note that Cartwright is here reporting a taunt by Shah 'Abbās to a potential Armenian convert to Islam, which the Shah refused to allow. Regardless, Cartwright's inclusion of it must be assumed to reflect his own attitude also. Marco Polo had the same reaction; see Yule edn., p. 43, where he remarked that: "In days of old the nobles there were valiant men, and did doughty deeds of arms; but nowadays they are poor creatures, and good at nought, unless it be at boozing; they are great at that." Polo was referring to Lesser, or Cilician, Armenia.

<sup>2</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 389/p. 291.



weapons and matters of war,<sup>3</sup> present no startling historical insights. The nature of classical Armenian society, and especially the importance of Armenian troops to the Byzantines, for example, is more or less common knowledge, even if there is much that still remains to be learned about these matters.<sup>4</sup> What is significant is that by 1600 the image of the Armenian as trader or merchant was rapidly replacing the earlier more war-like one which, by 1700, was considerably less common.

Nor, as Hewsen rightly points out, are there any travellers who write about their passage through the areas of Karabağ and Siwnik', where the last vestiges of the old feudal system seem to have been preserved. These areas to the southeast and northeast of Erevan were scarcely travelled by Westerners who, after all, had little enough reason for wanting to go there, in the absence of any important cities which might serve as a lure. One hoped-for result of this study was to isolate information dealing with just these matters, but very little has materialized. The seventeenth century travellers with whom we are dealing simply failed to

---

<sup>3</sup>Cartwright, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup>On Armenian social structure and feudalism, see Nicholas Adontz, Armenia in the Period of Justinian, N. G. Garsoian, ed. and trans. (Lisbon: 1970), especially pp. 183-371, and Cyril Toumanoff, Studies in Christian Caucasian History (Washington, D.C.: 1963), especially the article entitled "The Social Background of Christian Caucasia," pp. 33-144. The recent article by Robert H. Hewsen, "The Meliks of Eastern Armenia -- A Preliminary Study," Revue des études arméniennes [hereafter REArm], n.s. IX (1972), 285-329, attempts to account for the decline and near disappearance of these institutions and to trace their survivals into our period. The most readily available appreciation of the role of Armenians as soldiers and emperors in the Byzantine Empire is by Peter Charanis, The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire (Lisbon: 1963), repr. from Byzantinoslavica, XXII (1961), 196-240.

differentiate the social status of the Armenians they met, or -- and this is perhaps less likely -- only ever met one or two types of Armenians.

Cartwright was again the only traveller to notice anything about the social structure of the Armenians and in doing so, presented evidence for the continuing existence of the Armenian tun.<sup>5</sup> He began by remarking that the Armenians were "a people very industrious in all kinde of labour: their women very skilfull and actiue in shooting, and managing any sort of weapon, like the fierce Amazones in antique time; and the women at this day, which inhabit the mountaine Xatach in Persia."<sup>6</sup> He then proceeded with his description of the family structure:

Their families are very great; for, both Sonnes, Nephews, and Nieces doe dwell vnder one rooffe, hauing all their substance in common: and when the father dyeth, the eldest Sonne doth gouerne the rest, all submitting themselves vnder his regiment. But when the eldest Sonne dyeth, the gouernment doth not passe to his sonnes, but to the eldest brother. And if it chance to fall out, that all the brethren doe die, then the gouernment doth belong to the eldest Sonne of the eldest brother, and so from one to another. In their dyet and cloathing, they are all fedde and cladde alike, liuing in all peace and tranquillity, grounded on true loue and honest simplicity.

This information was presented under a heading which read "A description of the people of Armenia, as they are at this day," and it is evident that Cartwright meant precisely that. To what extent his observations were based on first-hand knowledge as opposed to having been obtained from books is difficult to determine; but the overall impression one gains from

---

<sup>5</sup>The tun [Arm. = house] referred originally to the clan, then came to mean domain, territory, or even country. See Toumanoff, pp. 114-115, especially n. 185 and Adontz, pp. 343-349 et passim.

<sup>6</sup>Cartwright, p. 24.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

his book is that Cartwright provided mostly information which he himself observed or was told. Nonetheless, we must repeat that there is no evidence to support this supposition.

Nevertheless, his description is an indication of the possible survival of the tun at a time when it was thought to have largely disappeared. Other evidences appear in a variety of sources. The "Père Ottoman" episode of the 1660's (wherein there was an attempt to advance the claims of a Dominican monk named Dominique de Saint-Thomas, who was supposed to have been an Ottoman named Osman and the son of the Sultan Ibrahim) included among its participants a "Seigneur Armenien" named "Chazi Murad".<sup>8</sup> This individual, presumably of a noble family, was trying to enlist the "Père Ottoman"'s support in liberating Armenia.

Also, early in the seventeenth century, we have evidence from Persian documents that the traditional hereditary claims to Armenian monasteries such as Tat'ev were honored by Shah 'Abbās, who treated them, in good Muslim tradition, as waqf.<sup>9</sup> Such documents support the argument for the continued existence and functioning of the ancient Armenian social structure, if even only to a slight degree. Finally, the council of Armenian meliks which met with the Kat'olikos before the Israel Ory mission to gain European support for the liberation of Armenia can also be examined for the evidence of surviving noble and feudal institutions.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup>H. Missak, "Le Père Ottoman," Revue d'histoire diplomatique, XVII (1903), 372, 374.

<sup>9</sup>Hakob D. P'ap'azyan, ed., Matenadarani Parskeren Vaveragrereġ, I, Hrovartakner, Prak Ergroġt (1601-1650 t't') [Persian Documents in the Matenadaran, I, Decrees, Part 2 (1601-1650)] (Erevan: 1959), Doc. VIII, pp. 88-89.

<sup>10</sup>See Johannissjan, Israel Ory, passim, and n. 4, above, for the meliks.

All this, coupled with Cartwright's observations, point to an entire aspect of Armenian society which almost totally escaped our travelers, who concentrated instead on the image, which definitely antedates our period, of the Armenian people either as traders, schismatic Christians, or both. Within these two general categories there was a good deal of variation, some seeing the Armenians as shrewd, even larcenous, while others, the majority perhaps, were usually more impressed with their honesty and industry. In the same way, there were several different attitudes toward their Christianity, which will become evident as we proceed. Finally, there were passing references to the Armenian inhabitants of the countryside as tillers of the soil, but they tell us very little beyond the (nevertheless useful) fact that Armenians were still settled on the land in good numbers.

For some reason, Newbery, who was so concerned with trade, never mentioned Armenians in that context even though it is reasonable to assume that he met many Armenian merchants in his travels.<sup>11</sup> Whatever the reason

---

<sup>11</sup>It seems probable that the Armenian who pointed out "Asse Masis" to Newbery was a merchant; see above, Chapter Four, pp. 115-116. Material on Armenian merchants is scattered throughout both primary and secondary sources; several recent articles concern themselves more-or-less directly with this problem. Among others there are B. E. Colless, "The Traders of the Pearl: The Mercantile and Missionary Activities of Persian and Armenian Christians in South-East Asia," Abr-Nahrain, IX (1969-1970), 17-38; X (1970-1971), 102-121; XI (1971), 1-21, XIII (1972-1973), 115-135; R. W. Ferrier, "The Agreement of the East India Company with the Armenian Nation, 22nd June 1688," REArm, n.s. VII (1970), 427-433; *idem*, "The Armenians and the East India Company in Persia in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," The Economic History Review, 2nd series, XXVI, 1 (February, 1973), 38-62; Roberto Gulbenkian, "Philippe de Zagly, marchand arménien de Julfa, et l'établissement du commerce persan en Courlande en 1696," REArm, n.s. VII (1970), 361-426; Levon Khachikian, "The Ledger of the Merchant Hovhannes Joughayetsi," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, VIII, 3 (1966), 153-186; and Silvio Van Rooy, "Armenian Merchant Habits as Mirrored in 17th-18th Century Amsterdam Documents," REArm, n.s. III (1966), 347-357.

for this omission, there is no question that by the sixteenth century Armenians were involved in trade and, more importantly, were well-known for it. In this respect, we can cite the Italian traveller Cesare Federici who described his caravan out of Aleppo as consisting of Armenians and "Moorees."<sup>12</sup> Even earlier, the Portuguese traveller Antonio Tenreiro made several mentions of Armenian merchants.<sup>13</sup> And Cartwright attributed "their great liberty in the Ottoman Kingdome . . . [to the fact] that they are very laborious in transporting merchandise from one City to another, by which meanes through the customes which are paid in euery City, the coffers of the Grand Seignor are wonderfully enriched."<sup>14</sup>

Thomas Herbert, an English visitor to Persia in the 1620's compared the Armenians to Georgians, who were "for the greatest part Nestorians and Jacobites; and more inclinable to Arms than Trading, as their Neighbours the Armenians be."<sup>15</sup>

He also wrote that:

The Armenians at this day are the greatest travellers East and West of any Asiaticks: desire of gain and affection after novelties inducing them: Albeit indeed the advantage they have in their scituation, so near neighbouring the Seas Caspian, Euxine, Mediterranean and the Palus Meotis [Sea of Azov], give them more than ordinary encouragement; and whence it comes, that at this day the generality more incline to Merchandize than Mars, notwithstanding that the Turk, Tartar and Persian are oft causlesly quarrelling with

---

<sup>12</sup>Cesare Federici, Viaggio di M. Cesare de i Federici, nell' India orientale, et oltre l'India (Venice: 1587), pp. 1-2, repr. as Viaggi di C. Federici a G. Balbi alle Indie Orientali, Olga Pinto, ed. (Rome: 1962), English translation by T[homas] H[ickock], The Voyage and Trauailes of M. Caesar Frederick, Merchant of Venice, into the East India, etc. (London: 1588), p. 1.

<sup>13</sup>Antonio Tenreiro, "Itinerario," Antonio Balão, ed., Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por terra, Scriptures Rerum Lusitanarum (Series B) II (Coimbra: 1923), pp. 51, 53 et passim. Tenreiro traversed the Tabriz-Bitlis route in the 1520's.

<sup>14</sup>Cartwright, pp. 24-25.

<sup>15</sup>Thomas Herbert, Some Years TRAVEL into Parts of Africa and Asia

them; and that the Turk and Persian by turns domineer over them. For in a war 'twixt two Potent Monarchs, 'tis dangerous for a third to stand neuter, being thereby in peril to become a prey unto the Victor.<sup>16</sup>

This image was further enhanced through the travels of the Capucin missionary, Pacifique de Provins,<sup>17</sup> who went from Aleppo to Isfahan in a caravan led by an Armenian.<sup>18</sup> When he reached Isfahan he lodged "in the home of a merchant, whom we had been pleased to meet and help in Paris, where he found himself in difficulties three or four years before, and named Cogea-Mouchiac, whose only son was the son-in-law of Cogea-Nazar, who has a very great reputation with the Shah."<sup>19</sup>

---

the Great, 4th edn. (London: 1677), p. 155. On Herbert, see the "Preface" and "Introduction" to the Wm. Foster edition of Herbert, Travels in Persia, 1627-1629 (New York: 1929), pp. ix-xxxvii.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 158-159.

<sup>17</sup>Pacifique de Provins and his companion Gabriel de Paris, were instrumental in the establishment of the Capucin mission in Isfahan in 1628. Based on his three voyages to the East, he wrote Relation du Voyage de Perse (Paris: 1631). See also Trois lettres du P. Pacifique de Provins, P. Apollinaire de Valence, ed. (Rome: 1890), which includes a bio-bibliographical essay on Père Pacifique and his companions, pp. 7-73. For further information, see Bellan, Chah Abbas I, pp. 288-290, and Lexicon Capuccinum, 1259-1260.

<sup>18</sup>Pacifique de Provins, p. 244.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 250. Cogea is the Persian Khwāja, Lord, Sir, or Gentleman, Mouchiac the Armenian proper name Mušeł. Khwāja Nazar was "one of the principal Armenians who left [old] Zulfa having grown wealthy in business & having gained a great reputation with Cha-Abas and his successor Sha-Sefi who made him Kelonter [Kalantar], i.e. Chief and Judge of the Armenian nation" [Tavernier, p. 47]. He was one of the most prominent Armenians in New Zulfa in the first half of the seventeenth century and even entertained Shah 'Abbās & Shah Sefi (1629-1647) in his own home several times [cf. Afak'el T'avrižeci, Ch V et passim; see also the letter by Fr. Dimas of the Cross in A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia, I, p. 308]. Herbert reports that as the embassy of Sir Dodmore Cotton approached Isfahan, "the Visier, the Sultan of Spahawn, Meloyembeg, and Hodge-nazar, the Armenian Prince, in a Cavalcade of about four thousand Horse and innumerable Foot, came out to meet us" [p. 154]. Cotton and Herbert also visited Nazar's home: "A Christian he professes himself; but (I must be bold to say) his House was furnished with such beastly

Twenty years later, Père Philippe observed that "the Armenians are not so much Soldiers as Merchants. They travel nearly every where in the world. I have seen as many of them here in Marseille as I have in Persia. They are dispersed into several lands and into many Towns, and there is scarcely a principal one in the Orient which does not have several Armenians."<sup>20</sup> We have already referred to La Boullaye's friendship with the Armenian merchant Minas, who helped him through several difficult times;<sup>21</sup> his real interest in Armenians was as Christians, however, and will be discussed below. Alexandre de Rhodes informed us that he "was obliged to stay about three months in Isfahan to wait for a caravan of Armenians"<sup>22</sup> [emphasis added], another significant example of the near-automatic association of Armenians with trade.<sup>23</sup> Aside from his earlier remark, Manucci made other references to Armenians in trade. Smyrna, for example, was a commercial town where there were Italian, French, English, Dutch and Armenian merchants residing, and in their caravan to Tokat "were

---

Pictures, such ugly postures as indeed are not fit to be remembered: . . . Amongst other our cates [victuals], I took most notice of a roasted Pig; in regard it was the first we saw in Persia; and is meat equally offensive to Jew and Mahometan. The flagons and bowls in his House were all of gold: Vials of sweet Water for perfume, and glasses of Shiraz Wine were emptied for our better entertainment [p. 155]." There is additional material on Nazar in Gabriel de Chinon, pp. 254-265. Carswell, New Julfa, p. 7, n. 21, reports that the street where Khwāja Nazar's house stood was named Nazari Khiyaban ["Nazar Avenue"] after him.

<sup>20</sup>Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, p. 300.

<sup>21</sup>See above Chapter Two, p. 37.

<sup>22</sup>Rhodes, pp. 435-436; p. 226.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. Manucci's similar association of Erzurum's importance as a trading town and the large number of Armenians there, above Chapter Five, p. 178.

several Armenian merchants, who looked after our food, also our horse, mules and camels. We put up in their tents, where we were very well treated; but this was not done without an object, for the Armenians are very fond of their own interest."<sup>24</sup> Daulier-Deslandes continued this linking of trade with Armenians, with reference to the New Julfa colony, which was above all a mercantile community:

The energies of these people are wholly concentrated on trade, which they carry on all over the world; they are most successful, partly because of their endless patience and, partly, on account of their vigorous health which enables them to undertake all sorts of enterprises, even when very old. If ambition had not spoilt them, there would be many rich men in Julfa.<sup>25</sup>

Other towns also had an Armenian trading population, such as Kashan where Pouillet confided that, "Since I knew an infinity of Armenians, on my arrival at this town, I was met by some of those with whom I had made friends at Leghorn."<sup>26</sup>

As we might expect, Tavernier is a good source on this subject. In several instances he implied that Armenians in the caravans had considerable influences, at least in those going through Armenia.<sup>27</sup> He also

<sup>24</sup>Manucci, pp. 7, 12.

<sup>25</sup>Daulier-Deslandes, p. 51/p. 27. He also said that the "Armenians of Julfa have one great advantage, in that they are brought up to speak three quite different languages: Persian, the language of the country; Turkish, which is used for commercial purposes; and Armenian, their mother tongue, and that of their religion" [p. 50/p. 27].

<sup>26</sup>Pouillet, II, pp. 202-203, "Comme ie connoissois vne infinité d' Armeniens, ie fus rencontré en entrant dans cette ville, par quelques-vns de ceux avec lesquels i'auois fait amitié à Liourne."

<sup>27</sup>For example, pp. 11-13, where he suggested that the Armenians in the caravan were instrumental in getting it to lay over for two or three days at the Christian village of Şarkli [Charkliqueu] in order to replenish their wine supply, that of Tokat being very highly regarded [and attested to by many travellers] while that available later on at Erzurum was, as we have seen, less enticing. The large numbers of Armenian merchants could also bring about a layover of five or six days at Eymiacin



related an incident from his travels in India, which, given the popularity of his work, must have contributed substantially to the image of the Armenians as "hustlers," both literally and figuratively:

When I was at Patna four Armenians, who had previously made a journey to the Kingdom of Bhutan, came from Dantzic, where they had had made numerous images of yellow ember, which represented all kinds of animals and monsters; these they were taking to the King of Bhutan to place in his pagodas, he being, like his people, exceedingly idolatrous. Wherever the Armenians see that money is to be made they have no scruple about supplying materials for the purposes of idolatry, . . .<sup>28</sup>

Tavernier even gives us a look at how they lived while travelling:

The Armenians are all the more suited to commerce since they live very economically, and are very sober, as I have said, whether due to virtue or avarice. When they leave their homes for long voyages, they provision themselves with biscuits, smoked buffalo meat, onions, baked butter, flour, wine and dried fruits. They buy fresh meat on those days when they are permitted to eat it only when they find lamb or kid cheap in the mountains, and there are scarcely any of them who do not carry their net to fish when they come across ponds or streams. All these provisions cost them little to transport, for a merchant who loads six camels of merchandise has a seventh one which costs him nothing to carry all his supplies and baggage. Those who can afford to load twelve of them get two of them free, and it is the same in proportion to a greater number, the seventh always being given into the bargain for the tents and the provisions of the merchants. When they have arrived at a town where they must lay over awhile, five or six of them get together and rent an empty room, that they immediately furnish, each bringing his sleeping pad and cover and his eating utensils, which is surely a great saving. Moreover, they know how to manage their supplies so well, that it has often happened that, in returning from France or Italy, they have brought home some with them. When they go into Christendom, they take with them saffron, pepper, nutmeg walnuts and other spices, and they use that in the towns, to pay for bread, wine, butter, cheese, dairy products and other

---

for "devotions" [p. 26].

<sup>28</sup>Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Ball edn., II, p. 204.

commodities that they buy from the poor women. When they return from Christendom they bring home all sorts of notions and hardware from Venice and Nuremberg, such as small mirrors, enamel and brass rings, false pearls and other things of this nature with which they also pay for the supplies which they purchase in the villages.<sup>29</sup>

He then went on to point out that few caravans brought back less than 200,000 écus in silver, not counting all the goods brought also, and that

---

<sup>29</sup>Tavernier, Voyages en Perse, Monteil edn., pp. 77-78:

Les Armeniens sont d'autant plus propres pour le négoce qu'ils vivent de grande épargne, et sont fort sobres, comme j'ai dit, ou par vertu ou par avarice. Quand ils sortent de leurs maisons pour de longs voyages, ils font provision de biscuit, de chair de buffle fumée, d'oignons, de beurre cuit, de farine, de vin et de fruits secs. Ils n'achètent de viande fraîche aux jours qu'il leur est permis d'en manger, que lorsqu'ils trouvent dans les montagnes quelques agneaux ou chevreaux à bon marché, et il n'y en a guère d'entre eux qui ne portent leur filet pour pêcher quand ils trouvent des étangs ou des rivières. Toutes ces provisions leur coûtent peu de voiture, car un marchand qui charge six chameaux de marchandises en a un septième qui ne lui coûte rien pour porter toutes ses provisions et son bagage. Ceux qui ont de quoi en charger douze en ont deux de francs, et il en est de même à proportion d'un plus grand nombre, le septième étant toujours donné par-dessus pour les tentes et les vivres des marchands. Quand ils sont arrivés à une ville où ils doivent faire quelque séjour, ils se mettent cinq ou six ensemble et louent une chambre vide qu'ils ont aussitôt meublée, chacun portant son matelas et sa couverture et ses ustensiles de ménage, ce qui est assurément une grande épargne. Au reste ils savent si bien ménager leurs provisions, qu'il est souvent arrivé qu'en revenant de France ou d'Italie ils en ont rapporté chez eux. Quand ils vont en chrétienté, ils prennent avec eux du safran, du poivre, des noix muscades et d'autres épicerie, et c'est de cela qu'ils payent dans les villages le pain, le vin, le beurre, le fromage, les laitages et autres denrées qu'ils achètent des pauvres femmes. Quand ils reviennent de chrétienté ils rapportent toutes sortes de mercerie et de quincaillerie de Venise et de Nuremberg, comme des petits miroirs, des bagues de laiton et d'émail, des perles fausses et autres choses de cette nature, dont ils payent aussi les vivres qu'ils prennent dans les villages.

many Armenian left between two and twenty thousand tomans at their death, the richest of all being "Cotgia Petrus" who left 40,000 tomans in silver money.<sup>30</sup>

Such words must surely have done much to disseminate the image of the Armenian as a shrewd, probably grasping, merchant. Tavernier was, after all, an authority. Who would know better than a merchant the ways of merchants? After him, it is as though little remained to be said, and the later references are either brief or clearly based on Tavernier. In this latter regard, two examples of these popular accounts which perpetuated Tavernier's description of the Armenians can be cited.

John Fryer, who was in Isfahan in the summer of 1677, was obviously influenced by Tavernier even if his account provides additional information as well; he observed that Isfahan was a center for trade and commerce for merchants from all over the world:

On which account it is, the Armenians being skill'd in all the Intricacies and Subtilties of Trade at home, and travelling with these into the remotest Kingdoms, become by their own Industry, and by being Factors of their own Kindreds Honesty, the Wealthiest Men, being expert at Bargains wherever they come, evading thereby Brokeridge; and studying all the Arts of Thrift, will Travel for Fifty Shillings, where we cannot for Fifty Thomands; setting out with a stock of Hard Eggs and a Metarra of Wine, which will last them from Spahaun to the Port; riding on a mean Beast which they sell or ship off for Advance, their only Expence being Horse-meat; travelling with no Attendance, their Matrass serving at once for Horse-cloth, and them to lye on; they are a kind of Privateers in Trade, No Purchase, no Pay; they enter the Theatre of Commerce by means of some Benefactor, whose Money they adventure upon, and on Return, a Quarter Part of the Gain is their own; From such Beginnings do

---

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 78. 200,000 écus was then equal to £45,000 at 1 écu = 4s.6d. Khawāja Petros' 400,000 tomans was then worth about £34,000 and Tavernier is at pains to point out that this was only his cash and did not include the rest of his estate which was considerable.

they raise sometimes great Fortunes for themselves and Masters.<sup>31</sup>

In the same way, parts of Tournefort's version were even more slavishly styled after Tavernier's, although not at first:

the Armenians trouble themselves with nothing but Trade, which they follow with the utmost Attention and Application. They are not only Masters of the Trade in the Levant, but have a large Share in that of the most considerable Places in Europe. They come from the farthest Parts of Persia to Leghorn. Not long since they settled at Marseilles. There are many in Holland and England. They travel into the Dominions of the Mogul, to Siam, Java, the Philippine Islands, and throughout all the East, except China.<sup>32</sup>

He then went on to discuss New Julfa as the center of this activity, Shah 'Abbās' removal of the Armenians to this new colony, his interest in establishing trade with Europe, and his selection of the Armenians to carry this trade on because of their many virtues, not the least important of which was their Christianity; all of this long discussion and more is patterned closely after Tavernier.<sup>33</sup> He next added another description of his own to demonstrate the Armenian zeal for trade:

THE Armenians, whether they act for themselves, or for the Merchants of Julfa, are indefatigable in their Journeys or Voyages, regarding to Weather in the most rigorous Seasons. We have seen several, and even of the very rich ones, pass great Rivers on Foot up to the Neck in Water, to help up their Horses when fallen, and save their Bales of Silk, or their Friends: But the Turkish Carriers give themselves very little Trouble with the Goods they carry, and are not answerable for any thing that may happen. The Armenians, in passing a River, lead their Horses; and nothing's more

---

<sup>31</sup>Fryer, New Account, II, p. 249. The matarah was a leather bottle for carrying liquid while travelling, as described in ibid., I, p. 335, n. 1.

<sup>32</sup>Tournefort, II, pp. 389-390/p. 291.

<sup>33</sup>Tournefort, II, pp. 390-391/pp. 291-294; Tavernier, Monteil edn., pp. 71-72, 76-77.

instructive than to see with what Charity they assist one another, or even those of any other Nations in the Caravan. These good People are very constant and regular in their Way, always equal, and shun Strangers who are turbulent and troublesome, as much as they esteem those that are peaceable; but such they entertain very civilly and freely. When we did any Service to any of their Sick, the whole Caravan return'd us their Thanks. If they hear at any place that a Caravan is coming that way, they will go two or three Days Journey to meet their Brethren with Refreshments, and with the best Wine; which they don't only offer to the Franks likewise, but by their Civility force them to accept it, and drink their Health. They are unjustly accus'd of drinking too much; we never saw them abuse themselves that Way: On the contrary, it must be allow'd they are the most sober, and thrifty, and modest of all Travelers.<sup>34</sup>

Having said this, Tournefort then proceeded to duplicate Tavernier's account as given above: he mentioned that they often returned with a portion of their original provisions, that this cost them nothing for transportation since they got every seventh camel free, that they carried provisions of biscuit, smoked meat, "Potted-Butter," wine, etc., that they roomed together, that they always carried fish nets with them, and that they bartered for provisions rather than pay with cash.<sup>35</sup>

He then concluded that:

The only thing to be blam'd in the Armenians, in relation to Trade, is, that if they succeed ill in any foreign Country where they are trading, they never return home again; they say they have not the Face to shew themselves after they are become Bankrupts: But their Creditors obtain no Satisfaction by this. However, this Justice must be done them, to own there are very few Bankrupts among them.<sup>36</sup>

From this summary, it should be evident that Tournefort was not using Tavernier because he himself had nothing to say, but because he agreed with Tavernier's evaluation and felt that that particular information was

<sup>34</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 393/p. 294.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 393-394/pp. 294-295; Tavernier, as in n. 29 above.

<sup>36</sup>Tournefort, II, p. 394, p. 295.

relevant to his relation, regardless of whether he personally observed it.

But Tournefort has more to add on the subject of Armenians as traders. He gives us a first-hand view of some actual bargaining:

WE could not but laugh to see the way of Trafficking among the Armenians in the Caravanseras of Erzeron. They begin by putting Money upon a Table, as among the Turks; after that they haggle a great while, and add one Piece after another, but not without a great deal of Noise. We believ'd by their way of talking they were ready to cut one another's Throats; but they meant nothing like it. After having pushed one another backward and forward with a great deal of Violence, the Brokers or Mediators squeeze the Hands of the Seller so very hard to make them cry out, and don't let them go till they agree that the Buyer shall not pay above so much as they think a reasonable Price: After that, every one laughs. They say, with reason, that the Sight of the Money makes them sooner agree.<sup>37</sup>

Two other travellers had brief comments to make on the subject. Avril suggested that the Governor of Shemākhā respected and indulged Armenian merchants, "as being the most proper Nation in the World to bring a flourishing Trade into the Country."<sup>38</sup> And Gemelli-Careri, who for once did not copy Tavernier, limited his opinion to the following:

These are at present the richest subjects of the nation [of Persia], become so by the money lent them at first by Scia-Abas the first, and by the great trade they have throughout the world, but more especially in silk; besides they are so frugal both in their houses and travelling, that the money hourly increases in their purses.<sup>39</sup>

One more important individual must be consulted on this subject: the Dutch traveller Cornelis de Bruyn, whose popularity ranks with

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., II, p. 396/p. 296.

<sup>38</sup>Avril, p. 114/p. 100.

<sup>39</sup>Gemelli-Careri, II, p.107/p. 135.

Tavernier, Chardin, and Tournefort.<sup>40</sup> Although he was never in Armenia, Bruyn's travels did take him through Russia to Astrakhan and over the Caspian Sea to Isfahan where he first arrived in November, 1703. While there he had an opportunity to observe the Armenian colony of New Julfa and devoted a number of pages to this topic.<sup>41</sup> His view portrayed Armenians as merchants and in virtually the same light as had Tavernier, Fryer and Tournefort, though a more hostile tone is evident:

The men for their part, think of nothing but heaping up money, and how to make it turn to account when they have got it; their whole study is so bent upon this, that they are unmindful both of the other duties of life, and of what passes in the world. And yet they cry up Persia above all the other countries under the sun, and imagine it to be the source of all arts and sciences, tho' they are as little able to judge of the matter as a blind man is of colours; for tho' they continually travel in Europe, and carry on a great trade there, they never give themselves the trouble to examine into what is

---

<sup>40</sup>Cornelis de Bruyn (1652-1726/7) was a Dutch artist and traveller whose books gained wide popularity in the early eighteenth century. His first work, Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn, door de vermaardste Deelen van Klein Asia (Delft: 1698) was translated into French as Voyage au Levant (Delft: 1700), and into English as A Voyage to the Levant (London: 1702); it is the record of his nearly nineteen years of travel in Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Syria and the Holy Land, from October, 1674 to March, 1693; it is of no use for our purposes. His second journey lasted seven and a half years, from July, 1701, to October, 1708, and took him first to Moscow, where he lived for over two years and, he says, often spoke with Peter the Great in Dutch. From Moscow, he sailed down the Volga and across the Caspian to Persia, where he reached Isfahan late in 1703. After almost a year there, he went to the East Indies and then returned to Holland over the same route that he had taken out. Based on this journey, he wrote Reizen over Moskovie, door Persie en Indie (Amsterdam: 1714), French translation as Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes Orientales, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: 1718), and English translation as Travels into Muscovy, Persia, and Part of the East-Indies, 2 vols. (London: 1737), which is the edition referred to herein. A second English translation appeared as A New and More Correct Translation Than has hitherto appeared in Public, of Mr. Cornelius LeBrun's Travels Into Muscovy, Persia, and Divers Parts of the East Indies (London: 1759). An abstract of the Russian portion of his journeys is in Friedrich Christian Weber, The Present State of Russia, II (London: 1722, repr. New York: 1968). On Bruyn, see BU, VI, 74-75; NBG, VII, 567; and EP, pp. 83-88.

<sup>41</sup>Bruyn, I, pp. 225-233.

curious and remarkable there; nor, indeed, would they stir a step out of their way, or be at the least expence whatsoever, to see what is fine even in their own country. They know nothing but what they have heard from others, and I took notice that those who travelled with me, took no notice of what I inquired into with so much care. For this reason when I had a point of curiosity to satisfy, I always had recourse to strangers and the efficacy of my money, and had nothing to do with the Armenians but in the Bazars, where they trade; for all manner of things, out of the common course of their business, are above the reach of their understanding, which is altogether uncultivated. As soon as they have learned to read and to write, their masters, who live at Julfa, send them about, and when they go to, or come from Ispahan, they commonly ride double upon an horse, a mule, or an ass, which is to be seen in no other country.<sup>42</sup>

The image of the Armenian as trader, then, is a pervasive one existing prior to the chronological limits of this study and continuing to the present day, but becoming especially prominent following the publication of Tavernier's work in 1676. Thereafter, as we have seen, the authors of the more popular travel works seem compelled to include some description to point up this aspect of the Armenian character. Even more extensive is the amount of space devoted to the Armenians as Christians and/or "Schismatics," often coupled with long descriptions of their beliefs, their practices and rituals, and the prospects for correcting their waywardness.

Our first account comes from Newbery, who quite accurately described services he attended in Tabriz in 1581:

This week all the Armenians keepe fast. They follow the orders of the Greekes: for every Wednesday and Friday they fast, and every Saturday eate flesh, except it be Easter Eeve. The sixe and twentieth day of November, I was at their Church in Teuris where first they sung

---

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 230-231.



Psalmes, and then went to Masse: And the Priest went round about the Alter three times. The first time he censored, the second time hee carried the Booke about, and the third time the Chalice. At the beginning of Masse, every man doth kisse one another; and after Masse kisse the Booke, and take holy Bread: and the poore have pottage and Bread given them.<sup>43</sup>

It is typical of the worldly Newbery to make no further comment or voice no opinion. He seemingly regarded it as his duty to observe and record only, perhaps reserving his own views for personal recounting. He does not pass any judgement in Eymiacin either, where there were "five old Churches, and one of them is overthrowne, because a brother and a sister married themselves together in the said Church."<sup>44</sup> Later witnesses would be more willing to judge Armenian Christianity by the degree to which they felt it varied from their own.

Cartwright was the first of our travellers to point out the errors of the Armenians, but one gets the feeling that they might still be preferable to the ways of the Catholic church. He first referred to Armenia's early Christianization: "The people of this nation haue retained amongst them the Christian faith, as it is thought from the time of the Apostles: but at this day it is spotted with many absurdities."<sup>45</sup> He then presented a survey of Armenian religious practices and customs intended to show the absurdities to which he referred:

They hold with the Church of Rome in the vse of the Crosse, affirming it to be meritorious if they make the same with

---

<sup>43</sup>Newbery, p. 467. Probably the best general work in English on Armenian Christianity is Malachia Ormanian, The Church of Armenia, 2nd edn., T. Poladian, ed., G. Marcar Gregory, trans. (London: 1955), which is, however, polemical at times. See also Leon Arpee, A History of Armenian Christianity (New York: 1946).

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 469.

<sup>45</sup>Cartwright, pp. 25-26.

two fingers, as the Papists vse; but idle and vaine if with one finger as the Iacobites. They adorne their Churches in euery place with the signe of the Crosse, but for other Images they haue none, being professed enemies against the vse of them. In keeping ancient reliques they are very superstitious, and much deuoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary, to whom they direct their prayers. They imitate the Dioscorians in eating whit meats on Saturday, which to doe on Wednesday and Friday were a deadly sin: neuerthelesse they will not refraine from the eating of flesh on euery Friday, betweene the feast of the Passeeouer and the Ascention. They abstaine fiue Sabbothis in the yeare from eating flesh, in remembrance of that time, in which the Gentiles did sacrifice their children vnto Idols. They celebrate the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary on the sixt of Aprill, the Nativity of our blessed Sauour on the sixt of Ianuary, the Purification the fourth of February, and the Transfiguration the fourteenth of August. The ministration of their Liturgie or seruice, is performed in their native language, that all may vnderstand: but in their seruice of the Masse for the dead, they are most idolatrous, vsing at the solemnizing thereof, to sacrifice a Lambe, which they first lead round about the Church, and after they haue killed it and rosted it, they spread it on a faire white linnen cloath, the Priest giuing to each of the Congregation a part and portion thereof. For which cause they are called by some Sabbatists, and Iulianists, as too much addicted to the ceremonies of the Iewes, and deuoted to the errours of Iulian. I haue heard some Papists boast and bragge much, that both Armenians, Iacobites, and Grecians, are vnited to the Church of Rome, but I could neuer heare either Armenian or Grecian auouch any such matter. They are (vnlesse some few families) so farre from yeelding obedience vnto the Sea of Rome, that they assume all antiquity vnto themselues, hauing retained the Christian faith from the time of the Apostles. Many Iefuites and Priests haue been sent from Rome to bring this oppressed nation vnder her gouernment, but they haue little preuailed; for neither will they yeeld obedience, nor be brought to any perswasion to forsake their ancient and inueterate errours, to become more erroneous with her.<sup>46</sup>

So for Cartwright, the travelling Anglican preacher in the year 1600, the Armenians had certainly gone astray, but were still able to resist the assaults of "Papist" missionaries, whether out of virtue or stubbornness it is difficult to say.

---

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., pp. 26-27.

The missionaries, one might imagine, have the most to say on the subject of Armenian Christianity, and if we take the time to present the views of one of them in some detail it might suffice if we only comment briefly on the others and note any differences of opinion. In this respect the account of the Carmelite Père Philippe can be taken as typical:

As for their Faith, the Armenians are Christians, but for the most part Schismatics. Their principal errors are the following. The first is that although they recognize the Pope as the ranking Bishop, they nevertheless deny that either their Patriarch or the others are subject to him. Second, they deny Purgatory, although they acknowledge that souls in the other life suffer some sadness, and that they are succoured by the vows and prayers of the faithful. To this error, they add a third, namely, that souls can only enjoy the pleasures of Paradise and the vision of God after the Day of Judgement. Finally, the fourth and the greatest of all is concerning Jesus-Christ, in whom they do not admit two natures, but only one. It is true that as they explain it, it is more an error in Theology than in Faith, proceeding nevertheless from their extreme ignorance.<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup>Philippe de la Tres-Sainte Trinite, p. 298:

Quant à leur Foy, les Armeniens sont Chrestiens, mais la plus part Schismatiques. Les principales erreurs sont les suivantes. La premiere est qu'encore qu'ils reconnoissent le Pape pour le premier des Euesques, ils nient neantmoins que ny leur Patriarche ny les autres luy soient sujets. La deuxième est qu'ils nient le Purgatoire, quoy qu'ils avouent que les ames en l'autre vie souffrent quelque tristesse, & qu'elles en sont soulagées par les voeux & par les prieres des fideles. Il adjoustent à cette erreur vne troisième, à sçavoir, que les ames ne doiuent iouir des delices du Paradis & de la visio de Dieu qu'apres le iour du Jugement. Enfin la quatrième & la plus grande de toutes est touchât Iesus-Christ, dans lequel ils n'avouent pas deux natures, mais vne seule. Il est vray que comme ils s'expliquent, c'est plustost vne erreur en la Theologie qu'en la Foy, procedant pourtant de leur extrême ignorance.

Père Philippe's work first appeared the year before Galanus' major study of Armenian theology [see above Chapter Two, pp. 83-84] and was therefore independent of it.

Père Philippe then discussed the problem of two natures vs. two persons and suggested that the Armenians and other eastern Christians did not know the difference between the two; but he then charitably added that "one must pardon their ignorance, for there is no scholarship among them; they only occupy themselves in learning the Holy Scripture by heart, so that he is the most learned who can recite the most passages on the spot, and when I was among them in Persia, they honored a certain one of them as an oracle that they said was a marvel for having studied Philosophy."<sup>48</sup> He went on to discuss other errors such as their anathematization of Pope Leo and their Invocation of Dioscurus, and then he briefly surveyed the progress of the missionaries, seeing some hope for future gains.<sup>49</sup> The Armenian fasts caught his attention next, as indeed it caught others' as well:

They observe a very rigorous abstinence on Wednesday, and Friday, as well as throughout Lent; for not only do they then abstain from meat, eggs, and dairy products, but even fish and what's more oil so that it would be a crime to even touch it. They thus only eat rice, herbs, fruits, and vegetables, but they eat whenever they please, so much that it must be judged more an abstinence than a fast. They eat meat on Saturday, which they celebrate with almost as much veneration as Sunday.

They celebrate the ancient festivals of the Church, but mainly four, namely, the Birth of Our Lord which they celebrate together with the Epiphany on the 16th of January [sic], during which they usually go in a procession to some river, if there is a convenient place and, with much ceremony, bless the flowing water which the people, because of their devotion,

---

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 299, "il faut pardonner à leur ignorance, car il n'y a point d'estude parmy eux, ils ne s'occupent qu'à apprendre l'Ecriture sainte par-coeur, de sorte que celui-là est le plus sçauant qui en peut reciter sur le champ plus de passages, & lorsque j'estois parmy eux en Perse, ils reueroient comme vn oracle vn certain d'entre-eux, qu'ils disoient par merueille auoir estudié en Philosophie."

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 299-300. On Armenian opposition to Leo and the Council of Chalcedon, see Karekin Sarkissian, The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church (London: 1965).

draw up to take back to their homes. The second is the feast of the Resurrection of Our Lord, the third that of the Transfiguration, & the fourth that of St. Gregory the Illuminator, their Apostle, whose Relics they venerate in the Monastery of Three Churches, where they extract from Flowers a certain liqueur that they dispense among the towns and villages of Armenia, after it has been made holy by touching it with the relics.<sup>50</sup>

Père Philippe concluded his discussion of Armenian customs by noting that Armenia was politically divided between Turkey and Persia, as it did not have its own King, although, he furtively added, "they have a secret King descended from the ancient line of Kings of Armenia whom the Patriarch secretly consecrates, as he himself has told our Fathers, and

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., pp. 300-301:

Ils obseruent vne abstinence tres rigoureuse le Mercredy & le Vendredy, aussi bien que tout le Caresme; car non seulement ils s'abstiennent alors de la chair, des oeufs, & du laitage, mais mesme du Poisson, & ce qui est bien dauantage de l'huile, tellement que ce seroit vn crime d'en toucher. Ils ne mangent alors que du Ris, des herbes, des fruits & des legumes, mais neantmoins ils en mangent lors qu'il leur plaist; si bien qu'il faut plustot iuger cela vne abstinence qu'un ieusne. Ils mangent de la chair le Samedy, qu'ils celebrent presque avec autant de veneration que le Dimanche.

Ils font les anciennes festes de l'Eglise, mais principalement quatre, à sçauoir, la Natiuité de Nostre Seigneur qu'ils celebrent ensemble avec l'Epiphanie le 16 de Ianuier [sic], en laquelle ils ont accoustumé d'aller en Procession à quelque Fleuve, si la commodité du lieu, le permet, & de benir avec beaucoup de ceremonies l'eau qui court & que le peuple puise par deuotion pour porter en sa maison. La deuxième est la feste de la Resurrection de Nostre Seigneur, la troisième celle de la Transfiguration, & la quatrième celle de saint Gregoire Illuminé, leur Apostre, dont ont reuere les Reliques au Monastere de trois Eglises, où ils tirent des Fleurs vne certaine liqueur qu'ils diuisent par les Villes & par les Villages d'Armenie, apres qu'elle a esté sanctifiée par l'attouchement de ces Reliques.

The date given for Christmas and Epiphany as 16 January, rather than 6 January, is probably simply a matter of the Julian vs. the Gregorian calendars, which, in the seventeenth century, were ten days apart; it could, of course, also be a typographical error.

there are very few people who are aware of this."<sup>51</sup> This mention of the "Patriarch" enabled him to proceed with a brief discussion of the Kat'olikosate of Armenia, which we shall consider presently.

The general opinion is clearly presented: the Armenians are Christians, but they are also -- and more importantly -- schismatic. This, however, is not their fault, as living under the yoke of the Infidel and far removed from the civilizing effects of the True Church, how could they be expected to be any other way? By and large, then, the image of the Armenian as Christian is a sympathetic one, most of the travellers (almost all of whom were Catholics, it must be remembered) feeling that they were benighted rather than perverse, and that there was some hope for returning them to the fold.

These attitudes were displayed by La Boullaye, for one, who devoted four pages to Armenian religious practices and beliefs. His main concern was to show where the Armenians erred in their beliefs as, for example,

---

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 301, "Ils ayent vn Roy secret descendant de l'ancienne Race des Rois d'Armenie que le Patriarche consacre secrettement, comme luy-mesme l'a declaré à nos Peres, & il y a fort peu de personnes qui le sçachent." This statement is evidently a reflection of the Armenian liberationist yearnings and has no basis in fact. The earliest appearance of this movement in our travellers can be found in Tectander, p. 61, who had an audience with the Kat'olikos, probably Dawit' IV Vazaršapat'ec'i (1590-1629) [the uncertainty is due to the fact that there were several co-Kat'olikoy at this time; see Örmanean, Azgapatum, II, nos. 1581-1652], in 1603; the Kat'olikos asked him to intercede with the Emperor to obtain his aid in restoring the traditional Armenian rights. On Armenian liberation see, among others, Anaysan, XVII Dari Azatagrakan Šaržumner [17th Century Liberation Movements]; Hovhannisyan, Drvagner Hay Azatagrakan Mtk'i Patmut'yan [Studies in the History of Armenian Liberation Thought], II; Arutiuyan, Osvoboditel'noe Dviženie [Liberation Movements]; Johannissjan, Israel Ory; and the "Introduction" to and some of the documents in G. A. Ezov', Snošeniya Petra Velikago s'' Armyanskim Narodom'' [The Relations of Peter the Great with the Armenian People] (St. Petersburg: 1898).

that Christ had only one Nature.<sup>52</sup> He, too, pointed out their condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon and anathematization of Pope Leo, "whom they believe lost and excommunicated."<sup>53</sup> He noted their denial of Purgatory, their belief in the impossibility of entering Paradise before the Day of Judgement, and their claim that, even then, they would not meet God face to face, but only a light.<sup>54</sup>

As most travellers, he was impressed with the strictness and duration of their fasts, observing that their Lent lasted fifty days and that "on Wednesdays and Fridays, they abstain from meat, fish, eggs, cream, 'jocourt' [yogurt] which is a kind of curds, butter, and oil, and the aged, being more religious, do not drink any wine, subsisting on bread, rice, fruit, water and beverages [?]."<sup>55</sup> He tried several times to point out that "Moses and Christ only made their Fasts forty days, but in response they told me that their Apostle, Saint Gregory, had put it that way in writing, which shows that they are more attached to their traditions than to the gospel of Christ."<sup>56</sup> But he quickly modified this seemingly

<sup>52</sup>La Boullaye, pp. 78-79.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 79-80, "qu'ils croient perdu & excommunié."

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, "les Mercredis & Vendredis ils font abstinence de chair, de poisson, d'oeufs, de cresse, de jocourt qui est vne espece de ionchée, de beurre, d'huile, & les vieillards comme plus Religieux, ne boient point de vin, se substenans de pain, de ris, de fruct, d'eau & de bosan." This last word, bosan, does not appear in any French dictionaries; Professor N. Garsoian suggests it could be read boisson, which seems reasonable.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 80-81, "Moyse & Iesus-Christ ne furent que quarante iours dans leur Iuesne, mais pour response ils me disoient que Saint Gregoire leur Apostre, leur avoit ainsi laissé par escrit, ce qui monstre qu'ils sont plus attachez à leurs traditions, qu'à l'Evangile de Christ."

negative attitude by "bearing witness" that "they are more civil and honest and better friends of the Franks than other Schismatics, because in their Books of Prophecy they read that the Europeans will return Constantinople and drive away the infidel Turks."<sup>57</sup>

In conclusion, La Boullaye outlined a program to save the wayward Armenians:

In order to return them to the way of salvation, it would be necessary to dispatch a Nuncio to Persia, someone well-meaning and very liberal, to aid the poor Armenians who would be converted to Catholicism, and to obtain the agreement of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the most Serene Republics of Venice and Genoa, that those who would not become Catholics and would not carry the certificates of their confessions and communions could not trade in their ports: this matter concerns the Holy See, and I have spoken my thoughts on it at Rome, to relieve my conscience, to those who can give the order, and are responsible for the propagation of the faith.<sup>58</sup>

What is especially interesting from the point of view of the first topic in this chapter is that once again we can see the virtually unthinking association of Armenians and commerce: if one wants to save the Armenians,

---

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 81, "Ie rends toutes-fois ce temoignage d'eux qu'ils sont plus civils & honnestes, & plus amis des Franks que les autres Schismatiques, parce que dans leurs Propheties ils lisent que les Europeens doivent reprendre Constantinople, & en chasser les Turqs infidelles." In this instance we should note further evidence for the strong seventeenth century Armenian yearning for liberation from the oppressor. There are many such Messianic legends; see A. Johannissjan, Israel Ory.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*:

Pour les remettre dans le chemin de salut il faudroit enuoyer vn Nonce en Perse, homme de bien, & fort liberal, pour assister les pauvres Armeniens, lesquels se feroient tous Catholiques & obtenir du grand Duc de Toscane, & des Serenissimes Republiques de Venise & de Genes, que ceux qui ne seroient pas Catholique, & n'apporteroient les certificats de leurs Confessions, & communions ne peussent negocier dans leurs Ports: Cette affaire regarde de la Saint Siege, & en ay dit mon sentiment à Rome, pour la descharge de ma conscience, à ceux qui y peuuent donner ordre, & sont establis pour l'accroissement de la Foy.



restrict their trade and they will quickly change their ways.

The Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes expended much time and effort throughout his thirty-odd years in the Orient, in his attempts to save the souls of all those with whom he came in contact. Although the Armenians were far from being the most important of these, he still detailed his observations of their errors and ways at some length, especially given the general brevity of the account of his return to Europe.<sup>59</sup>

When he arrived in Isfahan in 1647, he was impressed by the size of the city, by the variety of people in it, and by the relative freedom that the Christian missions had there. True, one could not openly proselytize among the Muslims, but free religious discussions were permitted and one could even criticize the Islamic faith.<sup>60</sup>

Besides, there were other fruitful fields to cultivate:

But those who can be especially helped are the poor Armenians, who are schismatics and Eutychian heretics. They can be persuaded to relinquish their errors without any fear, and all Persia is so full of them one sees as many of them as Persians even, . . .<sup>61</sup>

Although they ostensibly had freedom of religion they were heavily taxed, and if they could not afford to pay, they were beaten "with rods to the point of giving up the ghost or relinquishing faith in Jesus Christ, which, alas, they do only too frequently."<sup>62</sup> For this and other reasons, one had to

<sup>59</sup>Rhodes devoted a total of forty pages out of 450 in the first edition of 1654 (twenty in the English translation of 1966) to his journey from India to Europe; of these, nearly half are on Armenia and its people, though not all of them are on religion.

<sup>60</sup>Rhodes, pp. 426-431/pp. 221-224.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 432/p. 224.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 432/p. 225.

admit that these Armenians are most deserving of compassion in their errors and their misery. Most have never heard the Pope mentioned and have no idea they are in error. They are so especially careful to say their prayers and keep their fasts they wouldn't be dispensed for any thing in the world.<sup>63</sup>

As the others we have seen, Rhodes, too, was quite impressed with the Armenian fasts, which he felt were considerably stricter than those of the Catholics. He described the items that were forbidden and when, and then went on to say that

It has been estimated that even those who are not religious are under obligation to fast six months and three days out of the year. Religious have many more, and all keep them so strictly that if anyone happens to break them, the priests punish him very severely. It's true I noted their fast consists only in abstaining from these foods, for they can eat several times a day.

They accustom their children to this rigorous fasting even before the age of reason, and the sick dispense themselves from it only rarely, as I saw for myself. They say it's the best medicine the doctor could prescribe for them.<sup>64</sup>

In concluding this section, Rhodes did not offer any programs for conversion but he did suggest a sine qua non:

So that's what I saw of the Armenian fast, which I certainly wanted to tell about, to warn those eager to devote themselves to their conversion that they'll get nowhere with them if they don't make up their minds to keep the same fasts. Let no one think he'll be able to win an Armenian to God without showing him he has the courage to fast as well as he can.<sup>65</sup>

But Rhodes was by no means finished with his discussion of Armenians fasting, let alone other religious practices. Based on the nearly four months he spent in Erevan (part of which time he was quite ill), he had some remarks concerning the monks there:

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 433/p. 225.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., pp. 433-434/pp. 225-226.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., pp. 434-435/p. 226.

The monks are very numerous. To tell the truth I saw in them two very beautiful things that led me to feel sorry for the errors in which they are involved. The first is that they rise every night, no matter how severe the cold and regardless of their age. They stay at least five hours in choir, where they never fail to recite the entire psalter, besides several lessons taken from various books that comprise a large part of their Office. The other is fasting so rigorously that they aren't satisfied with the great fasts common to the whole country, but most of them fast practically all their lives with the exception of five or six of the great feast days during the year. These two things make everyone consider them saints.<sup>66</sup>

Naturally, there was a less favorable side as well:

I noticed, however, that they are all extremely ignorant. They understand nothing at all of the spiritual life and haven't the slightest tincture of the sciences. I leave you to consider whether the people can be very educated with such bad masters, who are content with knowing how to speak and write Armenian well, and when they know these two things they pass for great doctors.<sup>67</sup>

So it was that Rhodes spent his time in Erevan, patiently engaging any and all he could in discussions aimed at apprising them of their errors, but having little success.

After he had recovered from his illness, he set out once more for Europe via Erzurum and Tokat, where he again tried to win some souls. He apparently engaged in considerable disputation with Armenian vardapets, who "came to see me and even listened willingly to the talks I gave them on the primacy of the Pope over all patriarchs and bishops of the world. Some seemed to have assimilated my reasoning so well they promised me to set out for Rome."<sup>68</sup> During the trip, the Armenians in the caravan were solicitous of Rhodes and the other westerners; since it was Lent the

---

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 442/p. 230.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 449/p. 233.

Armenians were strictly observing their fasts, and Rhodes tried to follow suit but found himself unable to do so, due to his recent illness.

After Tokat, the caravan passed through a town of Armenians who had recently apostatized and converted to Islam

thus wronging Jesus Christ and their consciences. There were only one good old man and two very aged women who hadn't bent the knee before Baal. They had remained steadfast in their faith despite the bad example of all their compatriots. That whole Church survived only in these three poor people. All three came to see me. I received them with love and veneration, regarding them as souls truly faithful to their Master. I strengthened them as well as I could in the articles of faith necessary to salvation, without raising doubts in them concerning those which are a matter of dispute between us and the Armenians, which they were not capable of understanding.<sup>69</sup>

His words on the Armenians again expressed his belief that they were ignorant and oppressed rather than contrary and implied that they might still be saved:

So it is that these poor Armenians, living in great ignorance of our mysteries after being separated from the Pope, leave Jesus Christ very easily and hand themselves over to Mohammed at the slightest persecution dealt them by the enemies of the Christian name. Persons worthy of credence have told me that at one single time 3,000 of these wretched people renounced their Baptism during the reign of Abbas, king of Persia, who was urging them to it; later many, on repenting their infidelity, left the country in order to return to the Church they had abandoned in such cowardly fashion.<sup>70</sup>

A similar attitude toward Armenian Christianity was displayed by Pouillet, who was also convinced of the superiority of his beliefs. He first discussed various indirect methods used by the Persians to pressure the Armenians to convert to Islam, since outright force "would interrupt commerce, and would alienate that which the Sofi was trying to maintain with

---

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 450/pp. 233-234.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., pp. 450-451/p. 234.

the princes of Europe."<sup>71</sup> One solution was to allow any Armenian converts to Islam to claim inheritances within the family ahead of any Christian relatives. The Armenians counteracted by marrying off their daughters early and by arranging with sympathetic Muslims to act as temporary beneficiaries for wills.<sup>72</sup>

Poullet then went on to note the differing attitudes of the Jesuits and Capucins toward the Armenian faith, a representative of the former feeling that the Armenians could not be saved through their own faith, while a Capucin "equivocated" by saying that, after all, Armenians were still Christians.<sup>73</sup> From his own point of view, Poullet was more inclined to agree with the Jesuits. He concluded with the following observation:

The Greeks, Syrians and Armenians know so little about what they ought to believe that when we discussed our beliefs with some of them, they said that they believed as we did, and that they felt we had nothing to criticize each other about, except their Lents and the submission we render to the Pope. So if the Armenians were forced to change religion, they would unquestionably become Catholics, still keeping their Patriarch, who would in time have been able to submit to the yoke of St. Peter.<sup>74</sup>

Following a developing pattern, Daulier-Deslandes reserved his

---

<sup>71</sup>Poullet, II, p. 283, "auroit interrompu le commerce, & esloigné celuy que le Sofi pretendoit entretenir avec les Princes de l'Europe."

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 284-285. Gabriel de Chinon, pp. 292-294, has a similar passage.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 286-287.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 288-289:

Les Grecs les Syriens, & les Armeniens, sçauent si peu ce que'ils doiuent croire, que quand nous parlons de nostre creance à quelques-vns d'eux, ils disent qu'ils croyent comme nous, & qu'ils ne trouuent rien à redire d'eux à nous, sinon leurs Caresmes & la soumission que nous rendons au Pape. De sorte que si les Armeniens eussent esté obligez de changer de Religion; ils se seroient indubitablement faits Catholiques en conseruant tousiours leur Patriarche, qui auroit puis après pû se rendre avec le temps sous le ioug de S. Pierre.

remarks on Armenian religious beliefs for his discussion of New Julfa, which was considered by most travellers as the real center of Armenian culture in the seventeenth century. Daulier did not have a great deal to say, again due primarily to the brevity of his work and his interest in Persia. Still, he noted that there were over twenty churches in New Julfa, that they had no bells and therefore planks of wood were struck as the call to prayer, and that:

There is a bishop of Julfa whom they hold in great veneration; their secular priests, on the other hand, are married and are not very highly esteemed. Their monks, who are of the Order of St. Basil, are celibates and live very austere-ly. They are very greatly revered and hold all the high ecclesiastical offices, using the secular priests almost as servants: the greater their dignity the greater also their austerity. There are, moreover, a few nuns of a very strict order.

These Christians are schismatics and are ruled by a Patriarch who lives at the Three Churches, a village near Erivan. To their schism is added heresy, superstitions, false traditions, and great ignorance: take from them their fasts, which are frequent, obligatory and severe, and their long prayers, and there would be left to them nothing of Christianity, except baptism, the mass, and a great horror of Muhamadanism. Of theology, they have none.<sup>75</sup>

Even though Daulier made no explicit statement, it is evident that he has a much more critical and unfavorable attitude toward Armenian Christianity than those which we have seen previously.

Book Two of Gabriel de Chinon's work is given over to the Armenians and is much too extensive to examine in detail here.<sup>76</sup> In the two hundred twenty odd pages of this section, Père Gabriel discussed most of the differences between the Catholic and Armenian religions, including such matters as the Christianization of Armenia, fasts, the liturgy, etc. In

---

<sup>75</sup>Daulier-Deslandes, pp. 49-50/p. 26.

<sup>76</sup>Gabriel de Chinon, Relations Nouvelles du Levant, pp. 206-428.

addition, he provided examples of religious disputations on problems such as that of monophysitism vs. duophysitism. The overall impression adds little to what we have seen so far and is exemplified in this passage:

I have never seen any Nation in the Levant, where the holy customs of Christianity were better observed than among the Armenians. The parish priests are extremely poor and ignorant; so that they can scarcely read, and are obliged to win the bread for themselves and their children (for they are married) by the sweat of their brow. This great ignorance comes from this poverty, and because they have no schools. In addition, if they have any learned, they are all in the Monasteries, which are nearly all of the Order of St. Basil.<sup>77</sup>

He went on to discuss the higher clergy, contrasting them to the parish priests as being more learned and intelligent, and ending with the observation that all any of them would need to become perfect monks would be "submission to the Roman Church."<sup>78</sup>

This missionary zeal is absent in Tavernier's more descriptive and less polemical work; nevertheless, he did rely to some extent on Père Gabriel's work.<sup>79</sup> Tavernier avoided any theological discussion, instead limiting his exposition to a description of their customs in administering the various sacraments.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 245:

je n'ay point vû de Nation dans le Levant, où les saintes coutumes du Christianisme soient mieux observées que parmi les Armeniens. Les Prêtres Curés sont extrêmement pauvres & ignorans; de sorte qu'à peine savent-ils lire, & sont obligés de gagner du pain pour eux & pour leurs enfans (Car ils sont mariés) à la sueur de leur visage. Cette grande ignorance vient de cette pauvreté, & de ce qu'ils n'ont point de Colleges. Aussi s'il y a de la science parmi eux, elle est toute dans les Monasteres, qui sont presque tous de l'Ordre de St. Basile.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 248, "l'obeissance à l'Eglise Romaine."

<sup>79</sup>See above Chapter Two, n. 65.

For Tavernier the doughnut was more interesting than the hole: where many travellers before and after lamented the seeming ease with which they converted to Islam, he preferred to present edifying examples of how the Armenians preserved their faith in the face of Muslim persecution. One such example should suffice:

Van is a City peopl'd as well with Armenians as Turks; so that it is a usual thing for the Armenian and Turkish boys to play together. One day it unfortunately fell out, that the Boys playing one among another, and flinging Stones at each other, an Armenian Boy hit a young Turk full upon the Temples, and strook him dead. Presently the other Turkish Boys and the Rabble seiz'd him, and carry'd him to the Basha; the Father and Mother of the Child slain follow'd with hideous outcries, bawling for justice, or that the Boy should turn Mahometan to expiate his fault. The Armenian Parents offer'd a large sum of Money to redeem their Child; but the adverse party obstinate against all accommodation, the Basha was constrain'd to deliver the Child, giving sentence that the young Armenian should endure the same death the Turk had suffer'd, and no other. Immediately the Turks hurry'd the poor Child to the place where he had unfortunately slain his play-fellow; and after the Parents of the young Turk had had the two first hits, he was presently brain'd by a show'r of Stones from the Rabble. Yet as near death as he knew himself to be, without any disturbance at all, he exhorted his weeping play-fellows to stand firm to the Faith of Jesus Christ, for which he was going to dye.<sup>80</sup>

There were other examples included in this section, all demonstrating the same constancy and faith which Tavernier so admired. This feeling, tempered somewhat by the usual charges of ignorance, can be seen in his remark that "although they are rather ignorant and badly instructed in their religion, nevertheless when they encounter some misfortune and must die for their faith they go to their torment with courage and joy."<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup>Tavernier, 1678 London edition, pp. 175-176. The Montell edition omits this episode, and the corresponding section of the first French edition was unavailable. This incident is, of course, fraught with other implications as well.

<sup>81</sup>Tavernier, Montell edn., p. 115, "bien qu'ils soient assez ignorants et mal instruits dans leur religion, toutefois quand il leur



It would be convenient to ascribe Tavernier's evident sympathy to the fact that he was a Protestant, but in fact it seems more likely that one must look to his personality for whatever clue we might seek. This is so because Tavernier's fellow Protestant, Chardin, was more typically European in his attitude toward the Armenian faith, seeing it largely as a product of bad teaching and ignorance. In speaking of many local traditions and relics he felt that "all this is insipid, not to say ridiculous and in truth the Armenian tradition is devoid of common sense."<sup>82</sup> He discussed some of the beliefs, pointing out that they were all typically Eastern and a result of Greek contact and then told the story of a discussion he had once had in Isfahan with Père Raphael du Mans and a rich Armenian merchant named "Coja Marcara Serhas," who was more educated than many:

The Father said to him that I claimed that the Armenians were Lutherans, i.e. that they believed, as Protestants in Europe, that the Eucharist consecrated only bread. The Armenian cried out: Lord protect us! We believe that it is the body of Jesus-Christ. I answered that the Roman Catholics claimed that the Armenians believed that the Eucharist was the flesh, the bones and the human blood. The Armenian cried out even more strongly: Lord protect us! It is not the flesh and blood, it is the body of Jesus-Christ. This is what they hold to positively; and it would please God if the entire world believed the same.<sup>83</sup>

---

arrive quelque disgrâce, et qu'il faut qu'ils meurent pour leur foi, ils vont au supplice courageusement et avec joie."

<sup>82</sup>Chardin, II, p. 180, "tout cela est fade, pour ne pas dire ridicule, et en vérité la tradition arménienne n'a pas le sens commun."

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 182:

Le Père lui disoit que je prétendois que les Arméniens fussent luthériens, c'est-à-dire qu'ils crussent, comme les protestans de l'Europe, que l'Eucharistie consacrée n'étoit que du pain. L'Arménien se récrioit là-dessus, disant: Dieu nous en garde! Nous croyons que c'est le corps de Jésus-Christ. Je répondois que les catholiques romains prétendoient

These and other mistaken attitudes were all directly attributable to improper education:

It is simply training which ties the Armenians and all the other Christians of the East to the Christian religion; for they are never able to say why they are Christians. In their infancy they learn to say Christus, to make the sign of the cross, and to fast, which they do all their life believing themselves to be good Christians by practicing it regularly because they have been taught nothing else but going to church when they are in their own lands or places where they can practice their religion.<sup>84</sup>

Thus, Chardin fits into the pattern which we have seen developing. What he and Tavernier displayed in common as Protestants was their lack of interest in missionary activities; Protestantism had a century and a half yet to wait for its place in that particular caravan.

Meanwhile, the Catholics -- missionaries and lay alike -- saw bountiful opportunities awaiting them. All of our remaining authorities were Catholic and are alike in the views they present so that a less detailed survey should suffice for most of them.

Père Philippe Avril was already trying to win over the Armenians in his caravan as it left Aleppo. They departed during Lent

que les Arméniens crussent que l'Eucharistie étoit de la chair, des os et du sang humain. L'Arménien se récrioit encore plus fort: Dieu nous en garde! Ce n'est pas de la chair et du sang, c'est le corps de Jésus-Christ. C'est à quoi ils s'en tiennent positivement; et plutôt à Dieu que tout le monde s'y fût toujours tenu de même!

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., pp. 185-186:

c'est l'éducation simplement qui attache les Arméniens et tous les autres chrétiens de l'Orient à la religion chrétienne; car ils ne sont jamais capables de dire pourquoi ils sont chrétiens. Ils apprennent, dans leur enfance, à dire christous, à faire le signe de la croix, et à jeûner; ce qu'ils font toute leur vie, s'imaginant que c'est être fort bon chrétien, que de pratiquer cela régulièrement, parce qu'on ne leur a pas appris autre chose, si ce n'est à aller à l'église, quand ils sont dans leur propre pays, ou en des lieux où ils ont l'exercice de leur religion.

which the Armenians observe with so much rigour, that they make it a great scruple of Conscience to feed upon Lettice, Fish and Oyl, or to drink Wine. Therefore I thought my self engaged to comply with the weakness of those people, who believe the whole Essence of Religion to consist in these Exterior Observations and to deprive myself, as they did, of all those Refreshments of Nature which the Catholic Church allows her Children. For this purpose, after I had only made my provision of Biscuit, Dates, and some other dry'd Fruits, together with a little Coffee, for a Journey of above two hundred and fifty Leagues, I left Aleppo.<sup>85</sup>

Avril was instrumental in establishing the first Jesuit mission in Erzurum in 1685 and glowed over the results, which were pleasing more because of the sincerity of the converts than of their numbers.<sup>86</sup> He had similar hopes for Ejmiacin and Erevan, claiming even that a mission was "passionately desired by the greatest part of the Bishops of the Country."<sup>87</sup> The task of conversion could be handled by two missionaries who were capable of explicating the Catholic faith clearly and methodically because it was only "Ignorance rather than Obstinacy retains 'em in their Errors."<sup>88</sup>

Léonard Monier, another Jesuit missionary in Armenia, devoted many pages to Armenian history, theology, practices and errors.<sup>89</sup> He concluded with some recommendations on the proper way of dealing with the Armenians, which included setting good examples and diligently persevering in the task of pointing out errors through comparison to Holy Scripture. Unlike his predecessors he recognized that while most Armenians were in fact

---

<sup>85</sup>Avril, pp. 23-24/pp. 21-22. The French reads "Laitage"/dairy products, which the translator has rendered as lettuce/"Laitue".

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., pp. 53-54/pp. 47-49.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 68/p. 62.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., p. 69/p. 62.

<sup>89</sup>Monier, pp. 302-328.

ignorant of the True Faith, some of the better educated were well aware of their heretical belief. They could still be won over, but the job would be infinitely more difficult.<sup>90</sup> His final words of advice were "to always maintain an air of seriousness, modesty and at the same time sweetness and charity, with the various nations of the Levant; this wins their respect and their confidence."<sup>91</sup>

Were we to peruse Villotte's work with thoroughness commensurate to its worth we would still find the attitudes we have been picturing to be present. Suffering more than most in the anti-Jesuit riots in Erzurum and Erevan in the 1680's and 1690's, Villotte nevertheless found the Armenians as a whole to be praiseworthy and praised them as having "an unshakeable steadfastness in the faith of their fathers."<sup>92</sup> How much of this praise was sincere and how much feint is questionable, but Villotte probably meant most of it.

Gemelli-Careri also described the Armenian colony of New Julfa, and included his survey of Armenian religious rites and practices in the same chapter of his work. He discussed all the usual matters, masses, communion, Lent, priests, fasting, baptism, marriage and funerals, much as Tavernier and others did, and concluded with the comment that

the Armenians firmly adhere to their antient customs and the christian faith, notwithstanding the infinite persecutions rais'd against them by the Mahometans. Very few of them have imbrac'd the Mahometan religion, blinded by interest; for the renegado is put into possession of all his kindreds goods, and even of his fathers, who must

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., pp. 328-329.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., p. 329, "de conserver toujours avec les différentes nations du Levant un air de gravité, de modestie, et en même temps de douceur et de charité, qui gagne leur estime et leur confiance."

<sup>92</sup>Villotte, p. 533, "une fermeté inébranable dans la foi de leurs peres."

afterwards live up his son's courtesie.<sup>93</sup>

Twenty three pages of the original French edition of Tournefort's Relation were devoted to the manners and customs of the Armenians.<sup>94</sup> In those pages he discussed the same matters as his predecessors and concluded with them that the Armenians "would be very good Christians, were it not for the Schism whereby they separate from us."<sup>95</sup> In fact, the only negative evaluation of the Armenians in our period is by Cornelis de Bruyn, who simply did not seem to care for them. In part, this dislike was based on their domination of trade, and in part it was due to the fact they were divided among themselves -- "it is impossible to express the natural bent they have to disagree with each other."<sup>96</sup> But most of it seems to have been due to the ease with which he felt they abandoned their Christian faith and converted to Islam. These attitudes are displayed in the following statement:

Upon the whole, it cannot but be wondered at, that the Christian Princes should frequently employ Armenians to deliver such letters to the King of Persia; and that these people should be so far able to impose upon them, as to make themselves pass for persons of any consideration; when nothing is more certain than that they have neither honour nor conscience, and that without scruple they defraud and even ruin those who are sent with them to court. As for their religion, the facility with which they every day deny Christ to embrace the errors of Mohammed, makes it very evident that they are but little acquainted with the truths of their own religion. This is a necessary intimation to those who are strangers to this country.<sup>97</sup>

---

<sup>93</sup>Gemelli-Careri, II, pp. 114-115/p. 138.

<sup>94</sup>Tournefort, II, pp. 396-419. The comparable pages of the first English edition are 296-314.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 396/p. 296.

<sup>96</sup>Bruyn, p. 231.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., p. 233.

Despite this last negative voice, the overall opinion regarding the Armenians was more or less favorable, as we have seen. If they were not the equal of Europeans they were still preferable to the Muslim, and most of their shortcomings were a result of ignorance or disadvantage due to their oppressed existence in the lands where they were most prevalent.

With the weight of the most popular travel books of the seventeenth century behind the dual images we have seen develop, there should be little question that they had become widespread and virtual cliches by the end of our period. Gemelli's remark cited above to the effect that their money increased in their purses by the hour is particularly indicative of this trend.

In conclusion, how can we account for these attitudes on the part of the Europeans? While they might not properly be termed "liberal", they are most definitely unexpected if one recalls the seventeenth century's fierce religious struggles, its Inquisitions and its continuing persecutions of religious dissidents, whether in the France of Louis XIV, the England of James I or any of the other countries of Europe. Despite these preconditions, our travellers are seldom heard to call for force in bringing about adherence to the ways of the West.

Were we dealing with the eighteenth century, it would be simple enough to attribute these attitudes to the Enlightenment and the influence of philosophers such as Locke; unfortunately, Locke's works appeared too late to have much effect, except perhaps on one or two of our later writers.

It appears we must look elsewhere, and I would suggest that we might do well to look to travel itself and especially to the caravans.

Travel, as was suggested in the Introduction, attracted a certain type of individual, usually more adventurous, inquisitive, open, sometimes gullible. Putting such an individual into an environment as foreign and potentially dangerous as the lands of Islam in the seventeenth century would reasonably be expected to make him doubly cautious and concerned in any situation which might be difficult. It would also bring him into contact with non-Europeans who were generally better prepared to withstand the rigors of long-distance travel. The caravan was still, after all, a rather strange and unfamiliar mode of travel to Europeans, as evidenced by the number of times it was defined and described, usually in conjunction with a long discussion of the provisions one needed to take along as well as the dangers and problems one might expect to encounter.<sup>98</sup>

When trouble did develop for a Westerner in such an unlikely situation, it was most often an Armenian who came to his rescue, if anyone did; the only exception to this statement was in the case of armed attack from without, when the Armenians were usually more than willing to pay whatever was necessary to rid themselves of their attackers. In those instances, it was the European who might take umbrage at being exploited and seize the initiative in repelling the robbers.<sup>99</sup> But when the problem could be solved without violence, it was, we repeat, the Armenians who gave advice, interceded with the authorities, or loaned money -- usually,

---

<sup>98</sup>Cartwright, p. 10, marg. note, "A Caravan is a great many of Camels ladé, not much vnlike our carriers here in England"; Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, pp. 20-25; La Boullaye, pp. 59-60, "a group of merchants or travellers who band together out of fear of being attacked by Turks, Arabs, "Kougli" [Kurds?] or other robbers" (the second edition of his work included two extra pages, 60-61, of instructions on what to take); Manucci, pp. 13-15; and Villotte, pp. 30-43.

<sup>99</sup>One such example can be found in Gemelli-Careri, I, p. 400/ pp. 101-102.

it seems, because of a real feeling of kinship based on their common Christianity. Of the many examples which could be produced in support of this statement, two at opposite ends of the century ought to be sufficient to establish the point.

At Tabriz in 1694, Gemelli was running out of money to pay for his horse and continue his journey; a Catholic Armenian of Julfa lent him "eighty crowns to be paid him at Ispahan, upon my bare word; a courtesy I should scarce have met with in Christendom."<sup>100</sup> No doubt their shared religion was an important consideration in this loan, but Gemelli's final comment regarding the unlikelihood of such an occurrence transpiring in Europe requires us to recognize the nationality of the loaner as well as his beliefs.

The second incident took place in the summer of 1599 and did not happen in a caravan, but on board the ship on which the Sherley party was travelling to Venice. Because of insults to Queen Elizabeth by some Italian passengers, a confrontation developed and a scuffle ensued. The entire ship was quickly alerted and

the captain of the ship, with the passengers and seafaring men, rose up in arms against us, they being to the number of two hundred and fifty, and all our company not above twenty one; yet we did withstand them, neither was there any hurt done, by reason of three Armenian merchants which did stand between us, and entreated a peace.<sup>101</sup>

The narrator of this incident, George Manwaring, also cited two other instances where Armenians helped them, once more by the same merchants in

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., II, p. 31/p. 111.

<sup>101</sup>George Manwaring, "A True Discourse of Sir Anthony Sherley's Travel into Persia," in Sir. E. Denison Ross, ed., Sir Anthony Sherley and His Persian Adventure (London: 1933), p. 177. Manwaring's colleague, William Parry, A new and large discourse, p. 9, referred only to "certaine Merchants in the ship, more fearful of their goods then of the losse of their bloods (and yet fearefull enough of either) pacified (with much adoe) both parties," thereby placing the Armenian intervention in a different light.



Tripoli and again in Baghdad where an Armenian servant of the Pasha interceded on several occasions to help the Sherley party.<sup>102</sup>

Other examples abound, but it seems unnecessary to pursue the point further, though we must add that there were also times when Armenians could be perfidious. For an example, we need only note the incident which happened to Pétis de la Croix at the customs station on the Van route, where the agents

are very rude to the Franks [i.e. Europeans in general], because the Armenians provoke them against them; since I knew that these customs agents had little regard for the orders of the King of Persia, I had not wanted to use my copy of the order, believing that it would be better for me to pass for a Persian, which would be easy for me to do; but the same Armenians whom I had helped at the custom in Myanah, betrayed me, and not only said that I was French, but what's more swore to the agent that I had hidden diamonds, which was quite untrue; and if I had not known the language, I would have been lost; for in order to carry their wickedness even farther, they accused me of being a spy, and all in order to flatter the customs agents and to get a better rate on what they owed for their merchandise, which the Armenians do at every opportunity to humiliate the Franks, in order to divert them from the trade of Persia: however, I got out of the situation by means of the 5 piastres I secretly placed in the hand of an agent; nothing was found in my attire; and this same agent, although Armenian as they were, treated them so badly by the thorough search that he made of their goods that it certainly made them regret their treachery.<sup>103</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup>Manwaring, pp. 180, 193-195.

<sup>103</sup>Pétis de la Croix, pp. 147-148:

sont très-rudes pour les Franks, parce que les Arméniens de ce pays les excitent contre eux; comme je savois que ces douaniers avoient peu d'égard aux ordres du roi de Perse, je ne me voulus point servir de ma copie de traité, croyant qu'il me seroit plus avantageux de passer pour Persan, ce qui m'étoit aisé à faire; mais les mêmes Arméniens à qui j'avois fait plaisir à la douane de Myanah me trahirent, et non-seulement dirent que j'étois Français, mais encore assurèrent le douanier que j'avois des diamans cachés, ce qui étoit très-faux; et si je n'avois su la langue, j'étois perdu; car pour pousser leur mechanceté plus loin, ils

In any event, given the continuous contact with the Armenian merchants it was inevitable that acquaintances might be made and friendships develop. During the course of such developments, people would get to know one another more intimately and, it seems reasonable to assume, become more tolerant of the differences which divided them. The caravan, in other words, could well have served the important social function of fostering group solidarity, at least on a limited basis, and promoted, if only minimally, notions of equality which would find greater reinforcement elsewhere. Much work must still be done if this hypothesis is to be demonstrated as valid, but the search could be very fruitful.

Other questions remain, also. How influential were the images we have examined? Did they contribute to or appear in the general literature of the seventeenth century? How did the Armenians fit into the rising European interest in exoticism in that century? These and other questions will be considered in our concluding chapter.

---

m'accusèrent d'être espion, et le tout pour flatter les donaniers et avoir meilleure composition de ce qu'ils devoient pour leurs marchandises, outre que les Arméniens en toutes occasions font ce qu'ils peuvent pour mortifier les Franks, afin de les détourner du négoce de Perse: cependant, par la vertu de 5 piastres que je mis en cachette dans la main d'un commis, je sortis d'affaire; l'on ne trouva rien dans mes hardes; et ce même commis, quoique arménien comme eux, les maltraita si fort par l'exacte recherche qu'il fit de leurs marchandises, qu'assurément il les fit repentir de leur perfidie.

On Petis' ability to pass for a Persian, see Carré's remark above, Chapter Two, p. 32. In Miana, Pétis had told the customs agent that the Armenian merchants to whom he referred were his valets, thus freeing them from duties, thanks to the Shah's "traité", to which he also referred.

## Chapter Seven -- Conclusion

As to the Method I have taken, it is unconfin'd (it being the Privilege of a Traveller) not bounded with the narrow Terms of an Historian, nor loosely extravagant, like Poetical Fictions, but suited both to Time and Place, and agreeable to the Nature of the Relation.<sup>1</sup>

Probably the majority of travellers who returned from foreign lands had some literary pretensions, even if most of them never enjoyed the opportunity of exercising them. Those who did would sooner or later have to face the twin problems of method and content, and often one would be sacrificed to the other. Either way, there seems little reason to doubt the importance of their accounts as historical sources of varying worth. Even the treatment given them herein, where our first concern was to demonstrate the development and growth of images rather than to point out systematically every instance where a particular work was especially valuable, should still demonstrate the vast storehouse of information which is contained in this literature.

Nevertheless, criticism of it, not all invalid, has existed from its earliest appearance, as we have seen from our very first page. Popular and intellectual opinion has seemingly always been permeated with the notion that every one else who travels is somehow narrow-minded, uncultured and an idiot to boot, as witness this remark from late in our period: "Most Travellers come back only fraught with Garbs and Fashions, and leaven'd with the ill Customs and Manners of the Places they pass thro'".<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Fryer, I, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>These were the words of John Savage (1673-1747), in the "Dedication"

While we disagree with the tone and implication of this statement, there is a good deal of truth and significance in it, though not necessarily in the way it was intended.

Savage is correct: many travellers did return from their journeys "fraught with Garbs and Fashions," and as their numbers increased so did European, especially French, interest in such matters, to the point where we encounter the "Turquerie" of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> This rising interest in the exoticism of the East and the changing nature of its expression was in part a reflection of the continuing influence of books of travel, both through the texts themselves and also through the illustrations which accompanied them. In some instances, the authors were even pictured dressed in Eastern garb; among these were La Boullaye-Le-Gouz, Thevenot, and Tavernier, all of whose orientally-clad figures graced various editions of their respective works. Furthermore, this interest was not a late development and was already well along by the time La Boullaye was presented to Louis XIV early in the 1650's.<sup>4</sup>

One authority has noted that the preëminent figure in this trend, at least in "the eyes of sixteenth and seventeenth-century France [was] the Turk...the chief symbol of the Orient."<sup>5</sup> This was true not only because of

---

to his translation of Sanson, The Present State of PERSIA (London: 1695), sig. A3v. The work was first published as Voyage ou Relation de l'Etat Présent du Royaume de Perse (Paris: 1694). Sanson, whose given name is unrecorded, was a missionary and diplomatic representative from Louis XIV to the Court of Persia in the 1680's; see Schefer, "Essay," pp. cv-cvi. On Savage, who also edited later editions of Knoile's and Rycaut's very popular Turkish History, see DNB, XVII, 829.

<sup>3</sup>Two prominent literary monuments which exemplify this trend are Molière's Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme (1670) and Montesquieu's Lettres persanes (1721). For much more information for the period before 1660, see Rouillard, The Turk in French History, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup>See above Chapter Two, p. 60.

<sup>5</sup>Rouillard, p. 645.

the continuing Ottoman threat to Europe, but also due to one reason for its being that threat -- its proximity to Europe. The Persian shared the stage to some extent though he was mostly cast in a supporting role until the eighteenth century. On occasion, an Armenian also appeared, but in general the exotic East was better represented by the Muslim in our period. When Armenians were portrayed in a fashion which was intended to evince some exotic associations, they appeared as kings or queens, sometimes in classical contexts, at least insofar as our few available studies indicate.<sup>6</sup>

In this respect, our travellers seem not to have considered Armenians as strikingly different or foreign. Nor, in fact, do they regularly describe Muslims that way, either. All of them may have been misguided religiously, they certainly had different and unusual customs, and some (Armenians) were preferable to others (Muslims), but certainly toward the end of our period and probably even at the beginning, any strong exotic associations in the travel books were already becoming more and more limited at first to Persia -- and later to India and the Indies.<sup>7</sup>

This is not to say that many customs and habits were indeed unusual enough to warrant comment, but the overwhelming impression one gets from

---

<sup>6</sup>See, for example, A. Ferdinand Herold, "Le Nicomède de Corneille et l'Arménie," REArm, o.s. III (1923), 57-61, where the author discusses the role of Laodice, who was portrayed as the Queen of Armenia, and Louis H. Gray, "Un drame anglais de source arménienne," REArm, o.s. V, 1 (1925), 141-145, who discussed Beaumont and Fletcher's "A King and No King" (1611), the hero of which was the famous Armenian king, Tigran the Great.

<sup>7</sup>The works of La Boullaye and Tavernier illustrate this point as well as any, as the customs and habits, not to say the entire tone of the sections on India, seem much more wondrous than the nearer East.

the seventeenth century travel literature is strangeness in an acceptable and not extraordinary way. Now, there is no question that these works still contributed to the exoticism which we have been discussing, since even if the traveller came to be somewhat blasé about his travels and experiences in the nearer East, that which he was describing would still filter through to the public as exotic. In other words, where Chardin might relate an episode from Georgia's recent history in essentially moral and didactic but nonetheless scholarly terms, to show the wickedness of its ruling family, Mrs. Manley would transform it into a well-received -- and much more exotic -- play.<sup>8</sup> Her very use of the term "Historian" with reference to Chardin demonstrates the authority he, and other travellers as well, were accorded by the public at large. Exoticism, then, is not found in these works to any significant degree, though their influence on its development was nevertheless considerable.

---

<sup>8</sup>Mrs. [Mary de la Riviere] Manley, The Royal Mischief. A TRAGEDY. As it is Acted By His Majesties Servants (London: 1696). By her own admission ["To the Reader," sig. A3r], her play was based on an episode in Chardin's Travels into Persia. The play concerns Levan Dadian, Prince of Colchis, who gives up, and maims, his loyal wife, Bassima, for the wicked Homais, "Princess of Libardian, desperately in Love with Levan" [sig. A3v]. To complicate matters further, Homais is already the wife of the Prince of Libardian, Levan's Uncle, which makes the union of Levan and Homais incestuous. Needless to say, their deserts were just. The episode can be found in Chardin's Travels into Persia, 1686 English edition [which is the one Mrs. Manley probably used, though it could have been the 1691 reprint], pp. 133-147. The character of Homais was based upon the princess Darejan, who was even more wicked, according to Mrs. Manley. W. E. D. Allen, A History of the Georgian People (London: 1932, repr. 1971), does not mention the story but does describe Levan Dadiani as "the most powerful of his line, presumptuous, lewd and violent" [p. 166]. Further references can be found in David Marshall Lang, The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy, 1658-1832 (New York: 1957), *passim*. On Mrs. Manley (1663-1724), see DNB, XII, 920-923, and Walter and Clare Jerrold, Five Queer Women (London, New York, and Paris: 1929), pp. 88-138.

A related question is that of the extent to which the specific images we have seen developing appeared in the popular literature of the times. Unfortunately such a study remains to be done with regard to the Armenians, and no definite answers can even be suggested as yet. The few examples we have already cited indicate that the Armenian portrayed in literature was the noble or royal Armenian, not the merchant or Christian who was mostly encountered in travel or on the streets of European cities. On the other hand, based only on preliminary investigations, we can state that Armenia did have some mercantile associations in seventeenth-century literature. Thus, R. R. Cawley cites a poem by Joseph Beaumont (1616-1699) which in part reads:

His market thus in India done,  
Unto Armenia He doth run  
To traffique there.<sup>9</sup>

Further research will undoubtedly uncover more such references.

Our secondary goal was to attempt to demonstrate the importance of travel literature as primary source material, and while this problem was not in any way our chief concern, it is to be hoped that certain suggestions and indications in the text have at least hinted at its usefulness. Generally speaking, the usefulness of this material to political and military history is limited; its importance is rather to be found in socio-economic matters, where systematic study and examination will provide considerable factual information, especially on populations and prices, as we demonstrated only briefly in Chapter Five. The reconstruction of the trade

---

<sup>9</sup>Joseph Beaumont, Minor Poems, cited by Cawley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama, pp. 139-140. Cawley has collected several other references to Armenia from the works of Marlowe and others, loc. cit., pp. 120-121, especially n. 125.

routes in a detailed way is another endeavor even more directly based on travellers' books. Physical descriptions of town and country abound in these works and many of the villages, towns, churches, mosques, bridges, caravanserays, etc. are described only by travellers and enable us, as in the case of Naxiĵewan, to follow the renewal and growth of a town after its destruction at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

On the contrary, some problems are not elucidated by these sources. With respect to Armenia, the most disappointing gap is in the travellers' failure to distinguish very much of the social structure of Armenia. Reasons for this omission are to be found both in the evident lack of interest displayed by the travellers and their itineraries, which limited their views of Armenia to the commercial trade routes, while the remnants of Armenian feudal civilization confined itself for the most part to mountain fastness and less frequented localities. Still, this is after all a seventeenth-century gap and indications are that works of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries might provide some help -- albeit indirect -- in these matters.<sup>10</sup>

All this is, of course, only the Eastern side of the coin: travel books tell us at least as much about Europe as about the geographical area of their prime concern. In this context, they become indispensable sources

---

<sup>10</sup>Jonas Hanway, for one, is a good source not only for Armenian mercantile affairs, but also for the Armenian wanderer and liberationist, Israel Ory; see vol. III of his work, which is vol. I of The Revolutions of Persia, pp. 40-41. The Jesuit Tadeusz Juda Krusiński provides additional material in his Histoire de la Dernière Revolution de Perse, J. A. du Cerceau, S.J., ed., I (Paris: 1728), pp. 211-220. This work was anonymously translated into English as The History of the Revolutions of Persia (London: 1728). On Krusiński (1675-1756), see BCJ, IV, 1262-1265, and Lockhart, Fall, pp. 516-525.



for European intellectual history, as we have been attempting to show. To take only one important example, we can readily trace the developing attitude of Western superiority even in the relatively few works we have so far perused. Examples from the travels of Gemelli and Lucas have already been presented,<sup>11</sup> and there are many others as well, which are available from all periods. But the trend seems to be in the direction of a greater readiness to judge a people and a country as a whole. In other words, travel-books from the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth centuries are more moralistic in tone and include value judgements which seem to be rendered more quickly and more generally.

The most extreme example of this attitude with respect to Armenians is to be found in the work of a woman traveller through central Anatolia in 1880. While she insisted that her "strictures on the Armenians point directly to the inhabitants of Kaisariyeh [Kayseri]"<sup>12</sup> it is evident that they did in fact extend beyond that town to Armenians in general:

The Armenians may be an industrious thriving people,\* but God forbid we should have anything to do with them. If we do, they will be an everlasting thorn in our side. They have not a single characteristic attribute that we admire, neither patriotism, nor pride in the ancient history of their country, nor yet ambition to see it once again an independent kingdom. They live only for making and hoarding money, and are at present torn by conflicting opinions as to which side in the coming conflict it will be more advantageous for them to take -- the Russian or the English. Their natural inclinations point decidedly to the former; for they not only dislike us now for protecting the Turks, but they fear for the future, on

---

<sup>11</sup>See above, pp. 138, 202.

<sup>12</sup>Mrs. [Esmé] Scott-Stevenson, Our Ride Through Asia Minor (London: 1881), p. viii.

account of our greater probity and impartiality in dealing out justice.<sup>13</sup>

She had much more to add along these lines, noting, for example, "that their servility and meanness combined with their untruthfulness and utter lack of honesty and gratitude, caused us to avoid coming into contact with them on every possible occasion."<sup>14</sup>

Now, the validity of her opinions is not at issue here. Certainly, there are many favorable opinions to be found in nineteenth century travel literature, similar to the range of opinions with regard to the Turk; and this is precisely the point. The seventeenth century traveller was less likely to present a strong view in either direction, preferring to couch or disguise perhaps equally strong feelings in more neutral, descriptive terms. In this sense, the seventeenth century accounts are superior to later ones and may be more valid as historical sources.

Concurrent with the developing Western attitudes of superiority is a barely discernable awareness of Armenians as important middlemen, notably in trade, but also in the transmission of Western values and ways. This is an aspect which I have only begun to investigate, but there are one or two statements in these sources which attest to the awareness of the travellers in this regard. The role of the Armenian, as well as the Greek and the Jew, in westernization is one of those accepted clichés with which no one would argue. But the question nevertheless arises as to how early we can isolate and identify these developments and there is little

---

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 211. The \* is a footnote which states: "It is a well-known fact that no Jews live in Caesarea; they cannot compete with the natives."

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

doubt that they were proceeding well before our period.<sup>15</sup> It would also be interesting, however, to know how early the travellers -- and the West in general -- were aware of the role of the subject peoples in a more sociological way, *i.e.* beyond their obvious usefulness as interpreters, etc., as transmitters of Western thought and/or culture. The few references so far encountered are from the latter part of our century, by which time it is reasonable to assume that the process had already developed to a considerable degree. Many further references could undoubtedly be found in earlier accounts which we have not utilized, especially those of the many Westerners who travelled only as far as Turkey. The following illustrations should therefore be recognized for what they are: examples of a tentative suggestion which may or may not be borne out by further investigation.

Demonstrating that Mrs. Scott-Stevenson's ideas existed already in the 1650's, Pouillet felt the need to modify his own characterization of Armenians as "suspicious, deceptive, self-seeking and very often of very bad faith,"<sup>16</sup> by noting that these admonitions applied only to "those with whom I have associated on the road, and in Persia, and who have taken these bad qualities from the people with whom they have frequented in Europe, where they are nearly as often as in their own country."<sup>17</sup> It was thus

---

<sup>15</sup>One well-known indicator was the introduction of the printing press into the Ottoman Empire in 1493 by the Jews, 1567 by the Armenians, and 1627 by the Greeks. See Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (London: 1961), p. 50. Other fruitful gauges might include the number of students in European universities and the number of men employed as interpreters or in other positions in which there would be considerable contact with Westerners.

<sup>16</sup>Pouillet, II, p. 364, "soupçonneux, dissimulez, interessez, & bien souuent de fort mauuaise foy."

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, "ceux avec lesquels i'auois pratiqué sur les chemins, &

the influence of the West which was debilitating, since

the true Armenians, who have had no communication with anyone other than people of their own lands, or neighboring places, are so good that I have never known any others [like them] in other places I have been.<sup>18</sup>

While such a remark does not necessarily provide the sort of information we are seeking, it is nonetheless significant as an indication of Europe's awareness of its growing influence on non-Western people.

Tavernier related an incident which transpired on the Van route, just inside Persian territory, where

there is a sort of basin of very clear and very cold water, wherein there is a great quantity of fish, and thousands of them come to the surface when one throws out bread. This fish has a large head and a kind of mustache. Having discharged a load of shot, all the fish disappeared, but five or six of them came back to the surface and we easily took them. The Armenians ridiculed my shot, thinking that one could not catch fish that way, and they were quite amazed to see them float back to the surface. The Turks and some Armenians of the Caravan did not want to eat any of them, because they had been killed and taken by Christians; but the Armenians who had been in Europe laughed at this superstition, and came to enjoy a fine repast with me that evening.<sup>19</sup>

dans la Perse, & qui ont pris ces mauuaises qualitez parmy les gens qu'ils ont frequenté dans l'Europe, où ils sont presque aussi souuent que dans leur pays.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

les veritables Armeniens, qui n'ont point d'autre communication qu'avec les personnes de leur pays, ou des lieux circonuoisins, sont autant bons que i'aye iamais connu aucuns autres hommes dans quelque autre endroit que i'aye esté.

<sup>19</sup>Tavernier, p. 279:

il y a comme un grand bassin d'eau fort claire & fort froide où l'on trouve une grande quantité de poisson, & il en vient par milliers au dessus l'eau quand on leur jette du pain. Ce poisson a une grosse teste & une espee de moustache. Ayant tiré un coup de fusil chargé de grosse dragée, tous ces poissons disparurent, mais il en revint cinq ou six sur l'eau que nous primes aisément. Les Armeniens se moquoient de ce que

This incident is another indirect revelation of the Armenian as influential (in both senses) with regard to Western ways and values.

Finally, the Jesuit Villotte recognized that "the Armenians, especially those of Turkey, were, of all the peoples in the East, those who were the closest to Europeans, and who were more docile, more desirous of educating themselves, and more disposed to leave the Schism which has, for several centuries, separated them from the true Church."<sup>20</sup> While Villotte's primary religious interest is unmistakable, a wider meaning is also evident in his words, and there is little doubt that he regarded the Armenians, in general, as the people most inclined to accept Western ways.

Others, however, would have disagreed, and argued that the trouble with the Armenians was that they were not sufficiently Westernized. Let us close, then, with one last observation from a traveller, which, if nothing else, foreshadowed serious problems for the East:

Also, the Armenians [of Erevan] believe that this is the place where Noah planted the vine -- they even point out the spot -- and moreover they say that this is the Terrestrial Paradise. This land could truly be it, were it

---

j'avois tiré, croyant qu'on ne pouvoit prendre du poisson de cette maniere, & ils furent bien étonnez d'en voir revenir sur l'eau. Les Turcs & une partie des Armeniens de la Caravane n'en voulurent point manger, les croyant soûlille, parce qu'ils avoient esté tuez & appestrez par des Chrestiens; mais les Armeniens qui avoient esté en Europe se moquerent de cette superstition, & en vinrent faire bonne chere avec moy le soir.

<sup>20</sup>Villotte, p. 44, "les Armeniens, sur-tout ceux de Turquie, étoient de toutes les Nations d'Orient celle qui avoit le moins d'éloignement des Européens, plus de docilité, plus d'envie de se faire instruire, & plus de disposition à quitter le Schisme, qui depuis plusieurs siècles, la séparoit de la vraie Eglise."

inhabited by Europeans, and were it cultivated as it should be.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup>Lucas, II, p. 257:

Aussi les Armeniens croient-ils que c'est le lieu où Noé planta la vigne, ils en montrent même le champ, & disent encore de plus, que c'est le Paradis terrestre. Ce pays le pourroit bien être véritablement, s'il étoit habité par des Européens, & s'il étoit cultivé comme il faut.

## APPENDICES

## Appendix A

Travellers Arranged Alphabetically  
 (\*Denotes Actual Travel in Armenia)

- Angelus à S. Joseph, Carmelite [Joseph Labrosse] (1636-1697)  
 anon. [with Anthony Sherley] (fl. c.1600)  
 Antonio di Fiandra, Dominican (fl. 1640's)  
 \*Philippe Avril, Jesuit (1654-1698)  
 Louis Bachoud, Jesuit (1684-c.1737)  
 John Bell (1692-1780)  
 Richard Bell/John Campbell (fl. 1660's)  
 \*Claude de Bèze, Jesuit (d.1695)  
 Henrik Brenner (d.1732)  
 Cornelis de Bruyn (1652-1726/7)  
 David Butler (fl. 1670's)  
 \*Johann Christian Buxbaum (1694-1730)  
 \*John Cartwright (fl. c.1600)  
 \*Jean Chardin (1643-1713)  
 \*Thomas Coryat (d.1617)  
 Robert Covert (fl. c.1610)  
 Pedro Sebastiano Cubero (1640-1697)  
 \*André Daulier-Deslandes (fl. 1660's)  
 Pietro Della Valle (1586-1652)  
 Ludwig Fabritius (1648-1729)  
 John Fryer (c.1650-1737)  
 \*Gabriel de Chinon, Capucin (d.1671)  
 \*Clemente Galanus, Theatin (d.1666)  
 Gaspar de San Bernardino (fl. c.1605)



- \*Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri (1651-1725)
- Manuel Godinho, Jesuit (1630-1712)
- Antonio de Gouvea, Augustinian (1575?-1628)
- \*Johann Grueber, Jesuit (1623-1680)
- William Hedges (1632-1701)
- Thomas Herbert (1606-1682)
- Giles Hobbs (fl. c.1620)
- Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716)
- Tadeusz Juda Krusinski, Jesuit (1675-1756)
- \*François de La Boullaye-Le-Gouz (1623-c.1668)
- \*Paul Lucas (1664-1737)
- \*Francesco Maria Maggio, Theatin (1612-1686)
- George Mainwaring (fl. c.1600)
- Sebastien Manrique, Augustinian (1587?-1669)
- \*Niccolao Manucci (1639-1717)
- \*Jean-Baptiste de la Maze, Jesuit (1625-1709)
- \*John Midnall [or Mildenhall] (d.1614)
- \*Léonard Monier [or Mosnier], Jesuit (1675-1724)
- Henri de Feynes de Monfart (fl. c.1610)
- \*John Newbery (fl. 1580's)
- Adam Olearius (1591?-1671)
- Pacifique de Provins, Capucin (fl. 1630's)
- William Parry (fl. c.1600)
- Paulus Simon à Jesu Maria, Carmelite [Paolo Rivarola] (1576-1643)
- \*François Pétis de la Croix (1653-1713)
- \*Philippus à SS. Trinitate [or Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité], Carmelite [Julien Esprit] (1603-1671)
- Abel Pinçon (fl. c. 1600)

\*Heinrich von Poser (1599-1661)

\*Poullet (fl. 1650's)

Rafael du Mans, Capucin (1613-1696)

\*Alexandre de Rhodes, Jesuit (1591-c.1660)

\*Pierre René Ricard, Jesuit (1657-1717)

\*François Rigordi, Jesuit (1609-1679)

Joseph Salbancke (d.1624)

Sanson (fl. 1680's)

\*Franz Caspar Schillinger, Jesuit (fl. c.1700)

Anthony, Robert Sherley (fl. early 1600's)

Garcia de Silva y Figueroa (1574-c.1628)

Richard Steele/John Crowther (fl. c.1615)

\*Jan Janszoon Struys (d.1694)

\*Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605-1689)

\*Georg Tectander von der Jabel (d.1614)

Pedro Teixeira (fl. c.1600)

Jean de Thevenot (1633-1667)

\*Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656-1708)

\*Jacques Villotte, Jesuit (1656-1743)

## Appendix B

Travellers Arranged Chronologically, with Date of Earliest Arrival  
in Armenia or Persia

(\*Denotes Actual Travel in Armenia)

*John Newbery	1581
Pedro Teixeira	1597
Antonio de Gouvea, Augustinian	1598
Anthony, Robert Sherley	1599
George Mainwaring	1599
Abel Pinçon	1599
William Parry	1599
anon.	1599
*John Cartwright	1600
*John Midnall	1600
*Georg Tectander von der Jabel	1603
Gaspar de San Bernardino	1606
Paulus Simon à Jesu Maria, Carmelite	1607
Henri de Feynes de Monfart	1608
Robert Covert	1609
Joseph Salbancke	1609
*Thomas Coryat	1614
Richard Steele/John Crowther	1615
García de Silva y Figueroa	1618
Pietro Della Valle	1618
Giles Hobbs	1619
*Heinrich von Poser	1621
Thomas Herbert	1627

Pacifique de Provins, Capucin	1628
*Jean-Baptiste Tavernier	1630
*Francesco Maria Maggio, Theatin	1636
*Clemente Galanus, Theatin	1636
Adam Olearius	1636
*Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, Carmelite	1640
*Gabriel de Chinon, Capucin	c.1640
Sebastien Manrique, Augustinian	1642
Rafael du Mans, Capucin	1644
*François Rigordi, Jesuit	c.1645
Antonio di Fiandra, Dominican	1647
*François de La-Boullaye-Le-Gouz	1647
*Alexandre de Rhodes, Jesuit	1648
*Nicolao Manucci	1654
*Pouillet	1659
*Johann Grueber, Jesuit	1663
Manuel Godinho, Jesuit	1663
Angelus à S. Joseph, Carmelite	1664
*André Daulier-Deslandes	1664
*Jean-Baptiste de la Maze, Jesuit	1664
Jean de Thevenot	1664
Richard Bell/John Campbell	1668
*Jan Struys	1670
David Butler	1671
Ludwig Fabritius	1672
*Jean Chardin	1673
*François Pétis de la Croix	1674

Pedro Sebastiano Cubero	c.1675
Engelbert Kaempfer	1683
John Fryer	1683
Sanson	1683
*Philippe Avril, Jesuit	1685
William Hedges	1685
*Jacques Villotte, Jesuit	1689
*Léonard Monier, Jesuit	1690's
*Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri	1694
Henrik Brenner	1697
*Pierre René Ricard, Jesuit	1697
*Claude de Bèze, Jesuit	1698
*Franz Caspar Schillinger, Jesuit	1699
*Paul Lucas	1700
*Joseph Pitton de Tournefort	1701
Cornelis de Bruyn	1703
Tadeusz Juda Krusinski, Jesuit	1708
John Bell	1716
Louis Bachoud, Jesuit	1721
*Johann Christian Buxbaum	1725

## Appendix C

Travellers Arranged by Nationality  
 (\*Denotes Actual Travel in Armenia)

## 1. French - 26

Angelus à S. Joseph, Carmelite  
 \*Philippe Avril, Jesuit  
 Louis Bachoud, Jesuit  
 \*Claude de Bèze, Jesuit  
 \*Jean Chardin  
 \*André Daulier-Deslandes  
 \*Gabriel de Chinon, Capucin  
 \*François de La Boullaye-Le-Gouz  
 \*Paul Lucas  
 \*Jean-Baptiste de la Maze, Jesuit  
 \*Léonard Monier, Jesuit  
 Henri de Feynes de Monfart  
 Pacifique de Provins, Capucin  
 \*François Pétis de la Croix  
 \*Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, Carmelite  
 Abel Pinçon  
 \*Poullet  
 Rafael du Mans, Capucin  
 \*Alexandre de Rhodes, Jesuit  
 \*Pierre René Ricard, Jesuit  
 \*François Rigordi, Jesuit  
 Sanson  
 \*Jean-Baptiste Tavernier  
 Jean de Thevenot  
 \*Joseph Pitton de Tournefort  
 \*Jacques Villotte, Jesuit

## 2. British - 17

anon.  
 John Bell  
 Richard Bell/John Campbell  
 \*John Cartwright  
 \*Thomas Coryat  
 Robert Covert  
 John Fryer  
 William Hedges  
 Thomas Herbert  
 Giles Hobbs  
 George Mainwaring  
 \*John Midnall  
 \*John Newbery  
 William Parry

Joseph Salbancke  
 Anthony, Robert Sherley  
 Richard Steele/John Crowther

3. German/Austrian - 7

\*Johann Christian Buxbaum  
 \*Johann Grueber, Jesuit  
 Engelbert Kaempfer  
 Adam Olearius  
 \*Heinrich von Poser  
 \*Franz Caspar Schillinger, Jesuit  
 \*Georg Tectander von der Jabel

4. Italian - 6

Pietro Della Valle  
 \*Clemente Galanus, Theatin  
 \*Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri  
 \*Francesco Maris Maggio, Theatin  
 \*Niccolao Manucci  
 Paulus Simon à Jesu Maria, Carmelite

5. Portugese - 5

Gaspar de San Barnardino  
 Manuel Godinho, Jesuit  
 Antonio de Gouvea, Augustinian  
 Sebastian Manrique, Augustinian  
 Pedro Teixeira

6. Dutch - 4

Cornelis de Bruyn  
 David Butler  
 Ludwig Fabritius  
 \*Jan Struys

7. Spanish - 2

Pedro Sebastiano Cubero  
 Garcia de Silva y Figueroa

8. Flemish - 1

Antonio di Fiandra, Dominican

## 9. Polish - 1

Tadeusz Juda Krusinski, Jesuit

## 10. Swedish - 1

Henrik Brenner



## Appendix D

Travellers Arranged by Profession or Prime Purpose in the East  
 (\*Denotes Actual Travel in Armenia)

## 1. Missionaries - 24

## a. Jesuits

\*Philippe Avril  
 Louis Bachoud  
 \*Claude de Bèze  
 Manuel Godinho  
 \*Johann Grueber  
 Tadeusz Juda Krusinski  
 \*Jean-Baptiste de la Maze  
 \*Léonard Monier  
 \*Alexandre de Rhodes  
 \*Pierre René Ricard  
 \*François Rigordi  
 \*Franz Caspar Schillinger  
 \*Jacques Villotte

## b. Capucins

\*Gabriel de Chinon  
 Pacifique de Provins  
 Raphael du Mans

## c. Carmelites

Angelus à S. Joseph  
 Paulus Simon à Jesu Maria  
 \*Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité

## d. Augustinians

Antonio de Gouvea  
 Sebastien Manrique

## e. Theatins

\*Clemente Galanus  
 \*Francesco Maria Maggio

## f. Dominicans

Antonio di Fiandra

## 2. Diplomats/with Embassies/in Foreign Service - 17

anon.  
 John Bell  
 Henrik Brenner  
 David Butler  
 Pedro Sebastiano Cubero  
 Ludwig Fabritius  
 Thomas Herbert  
 Engelbert Kaempfer  
 George Mainwaring  
 Adam Olearius  
 William Parry  
 Abel Pinçon  
 Sanson  
 Anthony, Robert Sherley  
 Garcia de Silva y Figueroa  
 \*Jan Janszoon Struys  
 \*Georg Tectander von der Jabel

## 3. Merchants/Traders - 12

Richard Bell/John Campbell  
 \*Jean Chardin  
 Robert Covert  
 \*André Daulier-Deslandes  
 John Fryer  
 William Hedges  
 Giles Hobbs  
 \*John Midnall  
 \*John Newbery  
 Joseph Salbancke  
 Richard Steele/John Crowther  
 \*Jean-Baptiste Tavernier

## 4. Tourists - 12

Cornelis de Bruyn  
 \*John Cartwright  
 \*Thomas Coryat  
 Pietro Della Valie  
 \*Giovanni-Francesco Gemelli-Careri  
 \*François de La Boullaye-Le-Gouz  
 \*Paul Lucas  
 \*Niccolao Manucci  
 Henri de Feynes de Monfart  
 \*Heinrich von Poser  
 \*Pouillet  
 Jean de Thevenot

## 5. Scientists/Scholars - 3

\*Johann Christian Buxbaum  
\*François Pétis de la Croix  
\*Joseph Pitton de Tournefort

## 6. Purpose Uncertain or Unknown - 2

Gaspar de San Bernardino  
Pedro Teixeira

## Appendix E

Travellers' Routes through Armenia<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Routes through Armenia arranged by traveller

Philippe Avril, Jesuit

out (1685): Aleppo--Diyarbakir--Bitlis--Erzurum--Erevan--Shamākhā--  
Moscow

Claude de Bèze, Jesuit

return (1690's)?: route unknown; probably Tabriz--Erevan--Erzurum--  
Trebizond

Johann Christian Buxbaum

return [to Russia] (1725): route uncertain; probably Constantinople--  
Tokat--Erzurum--Erevan--Shamākhā--St. Petersburg

John Cartwright

out (1600): Aleppo--Diyarbakir--Bitlis--Van--Julfa--Shamākhā--Derbend--  
Tabriz--Isfahan

Jean Chardin

out (1673): Constantinople--Kaffa(via Black Sea)--Gori--Tiflis--Erevan--  
Tabriz--Isfahan

Thomas Coryat

out (1614): Aleppo--Diyarbakir--Bitlis--Tabriz--Isfahan

André Daulier-Deslandes

out (1663): Izmir--Tokat--Erzurum--Erevan--Tabriz--Isfahan

return (1666): over same route, but to Constantinople

Gabriel de Chinon, Capucin

out (c.1640): route unknown; lived in Isfahan and Tabriz until 1670

Clemente Galanus, Theatin

out (1636): route uncertain

Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri

out (1694): Constantinople--Trebizond(via Black Sea)--Erzurum--Erevan--  
Tabriz--Isfahan

Johann Grueber, Jesuit

return (1663): Isfahan--Tabriz--Erevan--Erzurum--Constantinople

---

<sup>1</sup> This list includes only those thirty-two travellers who actually travelled through Armenia. Only the main cities mentioned by the travellers are listed. Dates indicate year of arrival in Armenia.

François de La Boullaye-Le-Gouz  
out (1647): Constantinople--Tokat--Erzurum--Erevan--Tabriz--Isfahan

Paul Lucas  
out (1700): Aleppo--Malatya--Erzurum--Erevan--Tabriz--Isfahan

Francesco Maria Maggio, Theatin  
out (1636): route uncertain

Niccolao Manucci  
out (1654): Izmir--Tokat--Erzurum--Erevan--Tabriz--Isfahan

Jean-Baptiste de la Maze, Jesuit  
out (c.1664): route unknown; lived in Armenia & Persia (1660's-1709)

John Midnall  
out (1600): Aleppo--Diyarbakir--Bitlis--Van--Julfa--Shamākhā--Derbend--  
Tabriz--Isfahan

Léonard Monier, Jesuit  
out (1690's): route unknown; lived in Armenia (1690's-1724)

John Newbery  
return (1581): Isfahan--Tabriz--Erevan--Erzurum--Tokat--Constantinople

François Pétis de la Croix  
return (1676): Isfahan--Tabriz--Van--Bitlis--Diyarbakir--overland through  
Anatolia to Constantinople

Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité, Carmelite  
return (1640): Isfahan--Tabriz--Van--Bitlis--Diyarbakir--Aleppo

Heinrich von Poser  
out (1621): Constantinople--Erzurum--Erevan--Tabriz--Isfahan

Pouillet  
out (1659): Constantinople--Tokat--Erzurum--Erevan--Tabriz--Isfahan  
return (1660): Isfahan--Tabriz--Van--Bitlis--Diyarbakir--Aleppo

Alexandre de Rhodes, Jesuit  
return (1648): Isfahan--Tabriz--Erevan--Erzurum--Tokat--Izmir

Pierre René Ricard, Jesuit  
out (1690's): route unknown; lived in Armenia (1690's-1717)

François Rigordi, Jesuit  
out (1645): route unknown; presence in Armenia uncertain; cf. Ch. II,  
p. 72.

Franz Caspar Schillinger, Jesuit  
out (1699): route unknown; work unavailable

Jan Janszoon Struys

out (1670): Moscow--Astrakhan--Derbend--Erevan--Derbend--Shamākhā--  
Isfahan

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier

out [Voyage I] (1630), [V] (1657), [VI] (1664); return [IV] (1655), [VI]  
(1668): Izmir--Tokat--Erzurum--Erevan--Tabriz--Isfahan  
return [either II (1642) or V (1662)]: Isfahan--Tabriz--Van--Bitlis--  
Diyarbakir--Aleppo

Georg Tectander von der Jabel

out (1603): Moscow--Astrakhan--Gilān--Tabriz--Erevan--Kois--Astrakhan

Joseph Pitton de Tournefort

out and return (1701): Constantinople--Trebizond(via Black Sea)--Erzurum--  
Kars--Tiflis--Erevan--Kars--Erzurum--Tokat--Bursa--Izmir

Jacques Villotte, Jesuit

between 1688 and 1708: Constantinople--Trebizond(via Black Sea)--Erzurum--  
Kars--Erevan--Shamākhā--Isfahan--Tabriz--Erevan--Erzurum--Erevan--  
Erzurum--Trebizond--Constantinople--Trebizond--Erzurum--Erevan--  
Erzurum--Constantinople--Aleppo--Baghdad--Isfahan--Tabriz--Erevan--  
Erzurum--Tokat--Constantinople

## 2. Travellers arranged by route through Armenia

Constantinople--Trebizond(via Black Sea)--Erzurum

Jacques Villotte (both directions several times between 1688-1695)

Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri (out: 1694)

Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (out: 1701)

Constantinople/Izmir--Tokat--Erzurum--Erevan--Tabriz--Isfahan

John Newbery (return: 1581)

Heinrich von Poser (out: 1621)

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (out: Voyage I [1630], V [1657], VI [1664];  
return: Voyage IV [1655], VI [1668])

François de La Boullaye-Le-Gouz (out: 1647)

Alexandre de Rhodes, Jesuit (return: 1648)

Niccolao Manucci (out: 1654)

Pouillet (out: 1659)

Johann Grueber, Jesuit (return: 1663)

André Daulier-Deslandes (out: 1663; return: 1666)

Jean Chardin, Erevan--Isfahan only (out: 1673)

Philippe Avril, Jesuit, Erzurum--Erevan only (out: 1685)

Jacques Villotte, Jesuit (both directions between Erzurum and Is-  
fahan several times; return to Europe: 1708-1709)

Paul Lucas, Erzurum--Isfahan only (out: 1700)

Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (out: Erzurum--Tiflis--Erevan only,  
1701; return: 1701)

Johann Christian Buxbaum (return to Russia: 1725)

## Aleppo--Diyarbakir--Bitlis--Van--Tabriz--Isfahan

John Cartwright, to Van only (out: 1600)  
 John Midnall, to Van only (out: 1600)  
 Thomas Coryat (out: 1614)  
 Philippe de la Très-Sainte Trinité (return: 1640)  
 Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (return: either II [1642] or V [1662])  
 Pouillet (return: 1660)  
 François Pétis de la Croix, to Diyarbakir only (return: 1676)  
 Philippe Avril, Jesuit, to Bitlis only (out: 1685)

## Constantinople--Kaffa(via Black Sea)--Gori--Tiflis--Erevan

Jean Chardin (out: 1673)

## Erevan--Ganjak--Shamākhā

Philippe Avril, Jesuit (out: 1686)  
 Jacques Villotte, Jesuit (out: 1689)

## Tiflis--Dilijan--Bjñi--Erevan

Jean Chardin (out: 1673)  
 Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (out: 1701)

## Aleppo--Malatya--Erzurum

Paul Lucas (out: 1701)

## Appendix F

Detailed Itineraries through Armenia<sup>1</sup>A. Erzurum-Kağızman-Erevan-Tabriz

<u>Newbery</u>	<u>Tavernier</u>
Arserom [Erzurum]	Erzerom [Erzurum]
Bollomash [Bolorapahak]	Choban-Kupri [Çobanköprü]
Shew banc cupres [Çobanköprü]	Coumasour [Komasor]
Comatseur [Komasor]	Halicarara [Alicekrek?]
Cappannac	Kaguisgan [Kağızman]
Seraffa	3-4 nights camping
Dagswan [Kağızman]	Egmiasin [Ejmiacin]
camp by Araxes	Erivan [Erevan]
Echmiassen [Ejmiacin]	2-3 nights camping
Errewan [Erevan]	Kalifakiend
Cambellelea	Karabagler [Karabağlar]
Potta	Naksivan [Naxiçewan]
Naxnan [Naxiçewan]	Zulfa [Julfa]
Jolfa [Julfa]	
Merent [Marand]	
Souffion [Sufian/Sop'ian]	
Teuris [Tabriz]	
<u>Usual</u>	<u>Alternate</u>
Sugiac	Astabat [Astabat]
Marante [Marand]	2 nights camping
Sophiana [Sufian]	Tauris [Tabriz]
Tauris [Tabriz]	

B. Tournefort's route, Erzurum-Kars, and Ejmiacin-Erzurum

1. <u>Erzurum-Kars</u>	2. <u>Ejmiacin-Erzurum</u>
Erzeron [Erzurum]	camp (after passing by Cochavan
Elzelmic [Ezirmik]	[Çoşavank])
Badijouan [Badicivan]	Chout-louc [Kuyuçuk?]
camp	Cars [Kars]
Corolucalesi [Köroğlu]	Benecliamet [Benliahmet]
camp	Kekez [Kekeç]
Chatak [Çatak]	camp
Cars [Kars]	camp
	Lavander
	Assankale [Hasankale]
	Erzeron [Erzurum]

<sup>1</sup>This Appendix is limited to those detailed itineraries of major importance which were most useful in establishing the routes through Armenia as presented in Chapter Three. The names in brackets are modern equivalents.



C. Erzurum-Kars-Erevan-Tabriz

Gemelli-Careri

Erzerum [Erzurum]  
Axa [Aha]  
Misinghert [Mecenkerd, Mecingert]  
Cotanlo [Yukari Kotanlı]  
Kars [Kars]  
Chiala [Cala]  
Talen [T'alın]  
Eghiamiasen [Ejmiacin]  
Erivan [Erevan]  
Gavury-ciny  
Satarach [Satarak]  
Keraba [Karabağlar]  
Nak-civan [Naxiĵewan]  
Zulfa [Julfa]  
Marante [Marand]  
Tauris [Tabriz]

Chardin (Erevan-Kars only)

Erivan [Erevan]  
Daivin [Dvin]  
Kainer  
Nouratchin [Noraşen]  
camp  
Nacchivan [Naxiĵewan]  
camp  
Alacou  
Sofian [Sufian]  
Tauris [Tabriz]

Villotte

Aha [Aha]  
Badigevan [Badicivan]  
Tsandzak [Zanzak]  
Tomazdan  
Bardouz [Bardiz]  
Karakala [Karakale]  
Maksoudchouk [Maksutçuk]  
Kars [Kars]  
Soubattan [Subatan]  
Kochavank [Łosavank]  
Talyň [T'alın]  
Talış [T'aliş]  
Edchmiadzin [Ejmiacin]  
Erivan [Erevan]  
Ardacher [Artaşat]  
Vedi [Blyŭk Vedi]  
Sédéré [Satarak?]  
Kalifakienti  
Rarabaglar [Karabağlar]  
Naktchivan [Naxiĵewan]  
Abraner [Abaraner]  
Vieux Julfa [Julfa]  
Alemghiergher  
Maranda [Marand]  
Sofian [Sufian]  
Tauris [Tabriz]

Hassan-Cala [Hasankale]  
Corasan [Horasan]  
Mêginghert [Mecenkerd]  
Tchatuk [Çatak]  
Benglehemet [Benliahmet]  
Kars [Kars]  
Soubatan [Subatan]  
Kinek [Kinegi]  
Eski-Talin [T'alın]  
Kazum-Kieu  
Edchmiadzin [Ejmiacin]  
Erivan [Erevan]  
Toprakala  
Sadarak [Satarak, Salarak]  
Melik-Kent  
Naktchvan [Naxiĵewan]  
Abraner [Abaraner]  
Dchalana/Tsegna  
Danouch  
Marazar  
Halandar [Alamdār]  
Zounous [Zunus]  
Maranda [Marand]  
Yan [Yam?]  
Tauris [Tabriz]

D. Diyarbakir-Bitlis-Van-TabrizTavernier

Diyarbakir [Diyarbakir]	Zuarzazin
Chaye-batman	Souserat
Chikaran	Devan
Azou	Van [Van]
Ziarat [Ziaret]	Darchek
Zerque	Nuchar
Cochakan	Kuticlar
Carakan	Kalvat
Betlis [Bitlis]	Kogia
Taduan [Tatvan]	Darkavin
Karmouché [Karmuç]	Soliman-sera
Kellat [Ahlat]	Kours
Algiaou* [Adilcevaz]	Devogli
Spanktiere	Checheme
Söller	Davachiler
Argiche [Erçis]	Marand [Marand]
Quiarakierpou	Sofian [Sufian]
Perkeri [Berkri, Muradiye]	Tauris [Tabriz]

Pétis de la Croix

Dyarbakir [Diyarbakir]  
 Betlys [Bitlis]  
 Ekhlâq [Ahlat]  
 Ardjich [Erciş]  
 Van [Van]  
 Kutukler  
 Tchors  
 Tauryz [Tabriz]

## Appendix G

## Tournefort's Account of his Experiences on Ararat

I. English translation<sup>1</sup>

WE begun this Day to go up Mount Ararat about two a Clock in the Afternoon, but not without difficulty: We were forc'd to climb up in loose Sand, where we saw nothing but some Juniper and Goats-Thorn. This Mountain, which lies between South and South-South-East from Three-Churches, is one of the most sad and disagreeable Sight upon Earth. There are neither Trees nor Shrubs, nor any Convents of Religious, either Armenians or Franks. M. Struys would have done us a particular Favour, if he had told us where the Anchorites, he mentions, resided; for the People of the Country don't remember to have heard that there ever were in this Mountain either Armenian Monks or Carmelites: All the Monasteries are in the Plain. I don't believe the Place is inhabitable in any other Part, because the whole Soil of Ararat is loose or cover'd with Snow. It seems too as if this Mountain wasted continually.

FROM the top of a great Abyss, which is a dreadful Hole, if ever there was any, and which is opposite to the Village from whence we came, there continually fall down Rocks of a blackish hard Stone, which make a terrible Noise. There are no living Animals but at the bottom and towards the middle of the Mountain: they who occupy the first Region, are poor Shepherds and scabby Flocks, among which one finds some Partridges: the second Region is possess'd by Tygers and Crows. All the rest of the

---

<sup>1</sup>Tournefort, A Voyage into the Levant, II, pp. 267-276.

Mountain, that is, the half of it, has been cover'd with Snow ever since the Ark rested there, and these Snows are cover'd half the Year with very thick Clouds. The Tygers we saw gave us no small Fear, tho they were not less than two hundred Paces from us, and we were assur'd they did not use to molest the Passengers; they were seeking Water to drink, and undoubtedly were not hungry that Day. However, we laid our selves along upon the Sand, and let them pass by very respectfully. They sometimes kill some of them with a Gun; but the chief way of taking them is with Traps or Nets, by the help whereof they take young Tygers, which they tame, and afterwards lead about in the principal Towns of Persia.

THAT which is yet more inconvenient and troublesome in this Mountain, is, that the Snow which is melted, runs into the Abyss by a vast Number of Sources which one can't come at, and which are as foul as the Waters of a Land-flood in the greatest Storm. All these Sources form the Stream which runs by Acourlou, which never becomes clear. They drink Mud there all the Year; but we found even this Mud more delicious than the best Wine: 'tis always cold as Ice, and has no muddy Taste. Notwithstanding the Amazement this frightful Solitude cast us into, we endeavour'd to find the pretended Monastery, and inquir'd whether there were any Religious shut up in Caverns. The Notion they have in the Country that the Ark rested here, and the Veneration all the Armenians have for this Mountain, have made many imagine that it must be fill'd with Religious; and Struys is not the only Person who has told the Publick so. However, they assur'd us there was only one forsaken Convent at the Foot of the Gulph, whither they us'd to send one Monk every Year from Acourlou, to gather in some Sacks of Corn which grows in the Country about it. We were oblig'd to go thither the next day for Water to drink,

for we soon consum'd the Water our Guides, by the Advice of the Shepherds, had furnish'd themselves with. These Shepherds are more devout than others, and indeed all the Armenians kiss the Earth as soon as they see Ara-rat, and repeat certain Prayers, after having made the Sign of the Cross.

WE encamp'd this day just by the Shepherds Cottages, which are very sorry Huts; they move from place to place as they have occasion; for they can't continue there but in good Weather. These poor Shepherds, who had never seen any Franks, especially Botanists, were almost as much afraid of us as we were of the Tygers: However, it was necessary they should become more familiar with us; and we began to shew them some Marks of our Friendship for them, and gave them some Cups of good Wine. In all the Mountains in the World, one may gain upon the Shepherds with this Liquor, which they are much fonder of than of the Milk they live on. Two of them were sick, and in vain reached several times to vomit: We assisted them, and gave them Ease immediately; which procured us great Esteem with their Companions.

AS we continually pursued our Design, to inform our selves of the Particulars of this Mountain, we caus'd a great many Questions to be put to them: But every thing being well weigh'd and examin'd, they advis'd us to return back, rather than venture to advance farther up to the Snow. They inform'd us there was no Fountain throughout the whole Mount, only the Stream of the Abyss, which we could not come at to drink but near the forsaken Convent, before mention'd; and that we could not go in a whole Day to the Snow, and down again to the Bottom of the Abyss; but must be like Camels, who drink once in the Morning for the whole Day, it being impossible to carry Water with us, and climb so horrible a Mountain, where they themselves often lost their Way: That we might judge what a

miserable Place it was, from the Necessity they were under to dig the Earth from time to time to find a Spring of Water for themselves and their Flocks: And that it would be to no purpose to ascend higher in search of Plants, because we should only find Rocks hanging over our Heads, and heap'd one upon another. And, in short, that it would be Folly to proceed on our Way; for our Legs would fail us: And that, for their parts, they would not accompany us for all the Treasures of the King of Persia.

THIS Day we met with some Plants, which were handsom enough: But we expected to find something more extraordinary the next Day, notwithstanding what the Shepherds had said to us. And the very Name of Ararat would raise any one's Curiosity. Who would not expect to find some of the most extraordinary Plants upon a Mountain which serv'd, as I may say, for a Ladder to Noah, whereby he and all other Creatures came down from Heaven to inhabit the Earth? And yet we were vex'd to meet with Cotonaster folio rotundo J. B. . . . [The subsequent long botanical discourse is omitted herein.]

AFTER we had writ our Journal fair, we three at Table held a Council, to consider what Route to take the next day. We ran no hazard of being understood, because we talk'd French; and who is there upon Mount Ararat who can boast he understands French? Not even Noah himself, if he was to come thither again with his Ark. We consider'd what the Shepherds had said, which we look'd upon as very material, especially that insuperable Difficulty of the want of Drink; for we reckon'd it nothing to scale a Mountain they represented so frightful. How vexatious is it, said we, to have come so far, to have gone up one quarter part of the Mountain, to have found but three or four rare Plants, and turn back again without going any farther! We advis'd with our Guides: they, good Men, unwilling to expose themselves to the danger of dying for Thirst, and having no

Curiosity, at the expence of their Legs, to measure the Height of the Mountain, were at first of the same Sentiments with the Shepherds, but afterwards concluded we might go to certain Rocks, which stood out farther than the rest, and so return to rest at Night in the same Place we were now in. This Expedient seem'd very reasonable, and with this Resolution we went to Bed; but who could sleep under the Inquietude in which we were? In the Night the Love of Plants overcame all other Difficulties; and we three by ourselves concluded it was for our Honour to ascend the Mountain up to the Snow, and venture being devour'd by Tygers. As soon as it was Day, for fear we should die of Thirst in our Journey, we began to drink plentifully, and put our selves to a sort of voluntary Torture. The Shepherds, who were become a little sociable, laugh'd heartily, and took us for Persons who were endeavouring to destroy our selves. After this Precaution it was necessary to dine, and it was no less Punishment to eat without being hungry than it was to drink without Thirst: but it was absolutely necessary; for there was no Conveniency upon the way, and we were so far from being able to carry Provisions with us, that it was with difficulty we could carry even our Clothes thro such bad Ways. We order'd two of our Guides to go with our Horses, and wait for us at the abandon'd Convent, at the bottom of the Abyss: we are forc'd to describe it thus, to distinguish it from that other abandon'd Convent at Acourlou, which serves only for a Retreat for Passengers.

AFTER this, we began to travel towards the first Range of Rocks, with one Bottle of Water, which to ease ourselves we carried by turns; but notwithstanding we had made Pitchers of our Bellies, in two hours time they were quite dry'd up; and Water shook in a Bottle is a very disagreeable sort of Drink: our only Hope therefore was to come at the Snow,

and eat some of it to quench our Thirst. The Pleasure of Simpling is, that one may, under pretext of seeking Plants, ramble as much as one pleases out of the direct Road, and so tire ourselves less than if we were forc'd to ascend right up: Moreover, 'tis a very agreeable Amusement, especially when we discover any new Plants. However, tho we did not meet with many Novelties, yet the Hope of a good Harvest made us advance briskly. It must be acknowledg'd that the Sight is very much deceiv'd, when we stand at the Bottom, and guess at the Height of a Mountain, and especially when it must be ascended thro Sand as troublesome as the Syrtes of Africa. It is impossible to take one firm Step upon the Sand of Mount Ararat, and in good Philosophy one loses a great deal more Motion than when one walks on firm Ground. What a Feast was it for those who had no Water but what was in their Bellies, to sink every Step up to the Ankle in Sand! In many Places, instead of ascending, we were oblig'd to go back again down to the middle of the Mountain; and in order to continue our Course, to wind sometimes to the right, and sometimes to the left: when we met with any Mouse-ear, it made our Boots as smooth as Glass, and so slippery that we were forc'd to stand still. However, this time was not wholly lost, for we employ'd it in discharging the Water we had drank: but in truth we were two or three times about to have given up our Design. And it had been better we had, than in vain to strive against such a horrible Sand, and a Mouse-ear so short, that the most hungry Sheep could not brouza on it. However, the Reflection that we had not seen all, would have given us Uneasiness afterwards, and we should have been apt to fancy we had neglected the best Places. 'Tis natural to flatter our selves in these sorts of Enquiries, and to believe that we only want a lucky Minute to find something extraordinary, which would make



amends for all our Pains. Besides, the Snow which was always in our View, and which seem'd to draw nearer to us, tho indeed it was a great way off, attracted us very powerfully, and bewitch'd our Eyes continually; and yet the nearer we approach'd it, the fewer Plants we found.

TO avoid the Sand, which fatigued us intolerably, we took our way to the great Rocks heap'd on one another, like Ossa upon Pelion, to speak in the Language of Ovid. We pass under them as thro Caverns, wherein we are shelter'd from all the Injuries of the Weather, except the Cold, which we felt there very sensibly, and serv'd a little to allay our Thirst. We were oblig'd to leave this Place quickly, lest we should get a Pleurisy; and came into a very troublesome way, full of Stones, much like the Stones us'd at Paris by the Masons; and we were forc'd to leap from one Stone to another. This Exercise we found very tiresome, and we could not but laugh to see our selves forc'd to take such Methods, tho in truth it was but from the Teeth outwards. For my part, being quite tired out, and not being able to go any farther, I first began to repose my self, which was an Excuse for the rest of the Company to do the like.

AS the Conversation is commonly renew'd when we are sat down, one talk'd of the Tygers which walk'd about very quietly, or play'd at a good reasonable distance from us. Another complain'd that his Waters did not pass off well, and that he could not breathe: and for my own part, I never was more afraid that some lymphatick Vessel was broken in my Body. In fine, amidst all these little Passages with which we endeavour'd to amuse our selves, and which seem'd to give us new Strength, we came about Noon to a place more pleasing, for it seem'd as if we were ready to take hold of the Snow with our Teeth. But our Joy lasted not long; for what we had taken for Snow was only a Chalk Rock, which hid from our Sight a Tract of

Land above two hours Journey distant from the Snow, and which seem'd to us to have a new kind of Pavement, not of little Flints, but small pieces of Stone broken off by the Frost, and whose Edges cut like Flints. Our Guides told us their Feet were quite bare, and that ours would quickly be so too; that it grew late, and we should certainly lose our selves in the Night, or break our Necks in the Dark, unless we chose to sit our selves down to become a Prey to the Tygers, who ordinarily make their chief Attempts in the Night. All which seem'd very probable; however, our Boots were not bad yet. After having look'd on our Watches, which we kept in very good Order, we assured our Guides that we would go no farther than a Heap of Snow which we shew'd them, and which did appear to be hardly bigger than a Cake: But when we came to it, we found more than we had need of; for the Heap was above thirty Paces in diameter. We every one eat more or less, as we had a mind; and by Agreement resolv'd to advance no further. This Snow was above four Feet thick; and being frozen hard, we took a great Piece to fill our Bottle. It can't be imagin'd how much the eating of Snow revives and fortifies: Some time after we felt a glowing Heat in our Stomachs, like that in the Hands, after having held Snow in them half a quarter of an Hour; and far from causing griping Pains, as most imagine it must, it was very comfortable to our inward Parts. We descended therefore from the Snow with a wonderful Vigour, much pleas'd that we accomplished our Desire, and that we had now nothing farther to do but to retire to the Monastery.

AS one good Fortune is generally followed by another, by chance I perceived a small green Plat, which glitter'd among the ruinous Fragments of Stone. We ran thither as to a Treasure, and were highly pleased with the Discovery. It was an admirable Species of Veronica Telephii folio: But

we did not stay there long, our Thoughts being now much taken up with our Return. And our pretended Vigour was not of long Duration: For we came to Sands which lay behind the Abyss, and were full as troublesome as the former. When we endeavour'd to slide along, half our Bodies were buried: Besides, we could not keep the direct Way, but were oblig'd to go to the Left to come to the Edge of the Abyss, of which we had a mind to take a nearer View. And indeed it is a most frightful Sight: David might well say, such sort of Places shew the Grandeur of the Lord. One can't but tremble to behold it; and to look on the horrible Precipices ever so little, will make the Head turn round. The Noise made by a vast Number of Crows, who are continually flying from one Side to the other, has something in it very frightful. To form any Idea of this Place, you must imagine one of the highest Mountains in the World opening its Bosom, only to shew the most horrible Spectacle that can be thought of. All the Precipices are perpendicular, and the Extremities are rough and blackish, as if a Smoke came out of the Sides, and smutted them. About Six a clock after Noon we found our selves quite tir'd out, and spent; and were not able to put one Foot before another, but were forc'd to make a Virtue of Necessity, and merit the Name of Martyrs to Botany.

WE at length observ'd a Place cover'd with Mouse-ear, whose Declivity seem'd to favour our Descent, that is to say, the Way Noah took to the Bottom of the Mountain. We ran thither in haste, and then sat down to rest our selves; and found there more Plants than we had all the Journey beside: And what pleas'd us mighty well, was, that our Guides shew'd us from thence, but at a great distance from us, the Monastery whither we were to go to quench our Thirst. I leave it to be guess'd what Method Noah made use of to descend from this Place, who might have rid upon so many

Sorts of Animals which were all at his Command. We laid our selves on our Backs, and slid down for an Hour together upon this green Plat, and so pass'd on very agreeably, and much faster than we could have gone on our Legs. The Night and our Thirst were a kind of Spurs to us, and caus'd us to make the greater speed. We continued therefore to slide in this manner as long as the Way would suffer us; and when we met with small Flints which hurt our Shoulders, we turn'd, and slid on our Bellies, or went backwards on all four. Thus by degrees we gain'd the Monastery; but so disorder'd and fatigu'd by our manner of travelling, that we were not able to move Hand or Foot. We found some good Company in the Monastery, the Gates of which are open to every body for want of Fastnings. The People of the Town had taken a Walk thither, and were just going away as we came; but to our great misfortune had neither Wine nor Water. We were therefore forc'd to send to the River; but had no Vessel beside our Leathern Bottle, which held not above a Quart. And what a Punishment was it for the Guide on whom the Lot fell, to go the River, and fill it? He had the Happiness indeed to be the first who drank; but no body envied him: For he paid dear enough for it; the Descent from the Monastery to the River was near a quarter of a League down-right, and the Way very rugged: One may guess how pleasant his Journey was back again. It took up half an Hour to go and come; and the first Bottle was almost drank out at one Draught. The Water seem'd like Nectar; but we were forc'd to wait another Half-hour for a second Bottle, which was Misery enough. We took Horse that Night for the Town, to get some Bread and Wine; for after all the Pains we had taken, we found our Bellies very empty. We did not reach the Town till about Midnight; and he that kept the Key of the Church, in which we were to lodge, was sleeping at his Ease at the other End of the Town. We were

very happy now in having found some Bread and Wine. After this light Supper we got into a good sound Sleep, without being disturb'd by Dreams, any Uneasiness, or Indigestion, or so much as in the least feeling the Sting of the Gnats.

## II. French text<sup>2</sup>

Nous commençâmes à monter ce jour-là le Mont Ararat sur les deux heures après midi; mais ce ne fut pas sans peine. Il faut grimper dans des sables mouvans où l'on ne voit que quelque pieds de Genièvre & d'Épine de bouc. Cette Montagne qui reste entre le Sud & le Sud-Sud-Est des Trois Eglises, est un des plus tristes & des plus desagreceables aspects qu'il y ait sur la terre. On n'y trouve ni arbres ni arbrisseaux, encore moins des Couvents de Religieux Armeniens ou Francs. M<sup>r</sup> Struys nous auroit fait plaisir de nous apprendre où logent les Anachorettes dont il parle, car les gens du pays ne se souviennent pas d'avoir oûi dire qu'il y ait jamais eû dans cette Montagne, ni Moines Armeniens, ni Carmes; tous les Monasteres sont dans la Plaine. Je ne crois pas que la place fût tenable autre part, puisque tout le terrain de l'Ararat est mouvant ou couvert de neige. Il semble meme que cette Montagne se consume tous les jours.

Du haut de grand abîme, qui est une ravine épouvantable, s'il y en eut jamais, & qui répond au village d'où nous étions partis, se détachent à tous momens des rochers qui font un bruit effroyable, & ces rochers sont de pierres noirâtres & fort dures. Il n'y a d'animaux vivans, qu'au bas de la Montagne & vers le milieu; ceux qui occupent la premiere region, sont

---

<sup>2</sup>Tournefort, Relation d'un Voyage du Levant, II, pp. 357-370.

de pauvres bergers & des troupeaux galeux, parmi lesquels on voit quelques perdrix; ceux de la seconde region sont des Tigres & des Corneilles. Tout le reste de la Montagne, ou pour mieux dire la moitié de la Montagne, est couverte de neige depuis que l'Arche s'y arrêta, & ces neiges sont cachées la moitié de l'année sous des nuages fort épais. Les Tigres que nous aperçûmes ne laisserent pas de nous faire peur, quoiqu'ils fussent à plus de 200 pas de nous, & qu'on nous assurât qu'ils ne venoient pas ordinairement insulter les passans; ils cherchoient à boire, & n'avoient sans doute pas faim ce jour-là. Nous nous prosternâmes pourtant dans le sable & les laissâmes passer sort respectueusement. On en tuë quelquefois à coups de fusil; mais la principale chasse se fait avec des traquenards ou pièges, par le moyen desquels on prend les jeunes Tigres que l'on apprivoise, & que l'on mene promener ensuite dans les principales villes de Perse.

Ce qu'il y a de plus incommode dans cette Montagne, c'est que toutes les neiges fonduës ne se dégorgent dans l'abîme que par une infinité de sources où l'on ne sauroit atteindre, & qui sont aussi sales que l'eau des torrens dans les plus grands orages. Toutes ces sources forment le ruisseau qui vient passer à Acourlou, & qui ne s'éclaircit jamais. On y boit de la bolle pendant toute l'année, mais nous trouvions cette bolle plus délicieuse que le meilleur vin; elle est perpétuellement à la glace, & n'a point de goût limoneux. Malgré l'étonnement où cette effroyable solitude nous avoit jettez, nous ne laissions pas de chercher ces Monasteres prétendus, & de demander s'il n'y avoit pas des Religieux reclus dans quelques cavernes? L'idée qu'on a dans le pays que l'Arche s'y arrêta, & la vénération que tous les Armeniens ont pour cette Montagne, ont fait présumer à bien des gens qu'elle devoit être remplie de Solitaires, & Struys n'est pas le seul qui l'ait publié; cependant on nous assêura qu'il n'y avoit qu'un petit Couvent

abandonné, au pied de l'abîme, où l'on envoyoit d'Acourlou tous les ans un Moine pour recueillir quelques sacs de Blé que produisent les terres des environs. Nous fûmes obligés d'y aller le lendemain pour boire, car nous consommâmes bientôt l'eau dont nos guides avoient fait provision, sur les bons avis des Bergers. Ces Bergers y sont plus dévots qu'ailleurs, & même tous les Armeniens baisent la terre dès qu'ils découvrent l'Ararat, & récitent quelques prières après avoir fait le signe de la croix.

Nous campâmes ce jour-là tout près des cabanes des Bergers; ce sont de méchantes huttes qu'ils transportent en differens endroits, suivant le besoin, car ils n'y sçauroient rester que pendant le beau temps. Ces pauvres Bergers qui n'avoient jamais veû de Francs, & sur tout de Francs Herboristes, avoient presque autant de peur de nous, que nous en avions eû des Tigres; néanmoins il fallut que ces bonnes gens se familiarisassent avec nous, & nous commençâmes à leur donner, pour marque de nôtre amitié, quelques tasses de bon vin. Dans toutes les montagnes du monde on gagne les Bergers par cette liqueur qu'ils estiment infiniment plus que le lait dont ils se nourrissent. Il se trouva deux malades parmi eux qui faisoient des efforts inutiles pour vomir; nous les secourûmes sur le champ, & cela nous attira la confiance de leurs camarades.

Comme nous allions toujours à nôtre but, qui étoit de prendre langue & de nous instruire des particularitez de cette Montagne, nous leur fîmes proposer plusieurs questions; mais tout bien considéré, ils nous conseillèrent de nous en retourner, plutôt que d'oser entreprendre de monter jusques à la neige. Ils nous avertirent qu'il n'y avoit aucune fontaine dans la montagne, excepté le ruisseau de l'abîme, où l'on ne pouvoit aller boire qu'auprès du Couvent abandonné, dont on vient de parler, & qu'ainsi un jour ne suffiroit pas pour aller jusques à la neige, & pour descendre

au fond de l'abîme. Qu'il faudroit pouvoir faire comme les Chameaux, c'est à dire boire le matin pour toute la journée, n'étant pas possible de porter de l'eau en grimpant sur une montagne aussi affreuse, où ils s'égaroient eux-mêmes assez souvent. Que nous pouvions juger de la misere du pays, par la necessité où ils étoient de creuser la terre de temps en temps pour trouver une source qui leur fournît de l'eau pour eux & pour leurs troupeaux. Que pour des Plantes il étoit tres-inutile d'aller plus loin, parce que nous ne trouverions au dessus de nos têtes que des rochers entassez les uns sur les autres. Enfin qu'il y avoit de la folie à vouloir faire cette course; que les jambes nous manqueroient, & que pour eux ils ne nous y accompagneroient pas pour tout l'or du Roy de Perse.

Nous observâmes ce jour-là d'assez belles Plantes; mais nous nous attendions à bien d'autres choses pour le lendemain, quoiqu'en dissent les Bergers. Qui est-ce qui au seul nom du Mont Ararat ne s'y seroit pas attendu? Qui est-ce qui ne se seroit pas imaginé de trouver des Plantes les plus extraordinaires sur une Montagne qui servit, pour ainsi dire, c'escalier à Noé pour descendre du ciel en terre avec le reste de toutes les creatures? Cependant nous eûmes le chagrin de voir sur cette route le Cotonaster folio rotundo IB. . . . [The subsequent long botanical discourse is omitted herein.]

Après avoir mis nôtre Journal au net, nous tinmes conseil à table nous trois, pour délibérer sur la route que nous devions prendre le lendemain. Nous ne courions certainement aucun risque d'être entendus, car nous parlions François; & qui est-ce qui peut se vanter dans le Mont Ararat d'entendre cette Langue, pas même Noé s'il y revenoit avec son Arche? D'un autre côté nous examinions les raisons des Bergers, lesquelles nous



paroissoient tres pertinentes, & sur tout l'insurmontable difficulté de ne pouvoir boire que le soir; car nous comptions pour rien celle d'escalader une Montagne aussi affreuse. Quel chagrin, disions nous, d'être venus de si loin, d'être montez au quart de la Montagne, de n'avoir trouvé que trois ou quatre Plantes rares, & de s'en retourner sans aller plus avant? Nous fimes entrer nos Guides dans le conseil: ces bonnes gens qui ne vouloient pas s'exposer à mourir de soif & qui n'avoient pas la curiosité de mesurer, aux dépens de leurs jambes, la hauteur de la Montagne, furent d'abord du sentiment des Bergers, & ensuite ils conclurent qu'on pouvoit aller jusques à des certains rochers qui avoient plus de faillie que les autres, & que l'on reviendrait coucher au même gîte où nous étions. Cet expedient nous parut fort raisonnable: on se coucha la-dessus, mais comment dormir dans l'inquietude où nous étions? Pendant la nuit l'amour des Plantes l'emporta sur toutes les autres difficultez; nous conclumes tous trois séparément, qu'il étoit de nôtre honneur d'aller visiter la Montagne jusques aux neiges, au hazard d'être mangés des Tigres. Dès qu'il fut jour, de peur de mourir de soif pendant le reste de la journée, nous commençames par boire beaucoup, & nous nous donnâmes une espee de question volontaire. Les Bergers, qui n'étoient plus si farouches, rioient de tout leur coeur, & nous prenoient pour des gens qui cherchions à nous perdre. Neantmoins après cette précaution il fallut disner, & ce fut un pareil supplice pour nous de manger sans faim, que d'avoir bû sans soif; mais c'étoit une nécessité absoluë, car outre qu'il n'y avoit point de gîte en chemin, bien loin de se charger de provisions, on a de la peine à porter même ses habits dans des lieux aussi scabreux. Nous ordonnâmes donc à deux de nos Guides d'aller nous attendre avec nos chevaux au Couvent abandonné qui est au bas de l'abîme; il faut le désigner ainsi, pour

le distinguer de celui d'Acourlou qui est aussi abandonné, & qui ne sert plus que de retraite aux voyageurs.

Nous commençames après cela à marcher vers la première barre de rochers avec une bouteille d'eau que nous portions tour à tour pour nous soulager; mais quoique nos ventres fussent devenus des cruches, elles furent à sec deux heures après; d'ailleurs l'eau battuë dans une bouteille est une fort désagréable boisson: toute nôtre esperance fut donc d'aller manger de la neige pour nous desalterer. Le plaisir qu'il y a en herborisant, c'est que sous pretexte de chercher des Plantes, on fait autant de détours que l'on veut, ainsi on se lasse moins que si par honneur il falloit monter en ligne droite; d'ailleurs on s'amuse agréablement, sur-tout quand on découvre des Plantes nouvelles. Nous ne trouvions pourtant pas trop de nouveautez, mais l'esperance d'une belle moisson nous faisoit avancer vigoureusement. Il faut avouer que la velle est bien trompée quand on mesure une montagne de bas en haut, surtout quand il faut passer des sables aussi facheux que les Syrtes d'Afrique. On ne sçauroit placer le pied ferme dans ceux du Mont Ararat & l'on perd, en bonne Phisique, bien plus de mouvement que lorsqu'on marche sur un terrain solide. Quel cadeau pour des gens qui n'avoient que de l'eau dans le ventre, d'enfoncer jusques à la cheville dans le sable? En plusieurs endroits nous étions obligés de descendre au lieu de monter, & pour continuer nôtre route il falloit souvent se détourner à droit ou à gauche; si nous trouvions de la pelouse, elle limoit si fort nos bottines, qu'elles glissoient comme du verre, & malgré nous il falloit nous arrêter. Ce temps-là n'étoit pourtant pas tout-a-fait perdu, car nous l'employions à rendre l'eau que nous avions belle; mais à la verité nous fûmes deux ou trois fois sur le point d'abandonner la partie. Je crois même que nous aurions mieux fait,

pourquoi lutter contre un sable si terrible & contre une pelouse si courte que les moutons les plus affames n'y sçauroient brouter? cependant le chagrin de n'avoir pas tout veû nous auroit trop inquietez dans la suite, & nous aurions toujours crû d'avoir manqué les plus beaux endroits. Il est naturel de se flatter, dans ces sortes de recherches, & de croire qu'il ne faut qu'un bon moment pour découvrir quelque chose d'extraordinaire & qui dédommage de tout le temps perdu. D'ailleurs cette neige qui se presentoit toujours devant nos yeux, & qui sembloit s'approcher, quoiqu'elle en fut tres-éloignée, avoit de grands attraits pour nous, & nous fascinoit continuellement les yeux; plus nous en approchions, moins cependant nous découvriions de Plantes.

Pour éviter les sables qui nous fatiguoient horriblement, nous tirâmes droit vers de grands rochers entassez les uns sur les autres, comme si l'on avoit mis Ossa sur Pelion, pour parler le langage d'Ovide. On passe au dessous comme au travers des cavernes, & l'on y est à l'abri des injures du temps, excepté du froid; nous nous en aperçumes bien, mais ce froid adoucit un peu l'alteration où nous étions. Il fallut un déloger bientôt, de peur d'y gagner la pleuresie; nous tombâmes ensuite dans un chemin tres fatiguant, c'étoient des pierres semblables aux moilons que l'on employe à Paris pour la maçonnerie, & nous étions contraints de sauter d'un pavé sur l'autre. Cet exercice nous paroissoit tres-incommode, & nous nous ne pouvions nous empêcher de rire de nous voir obliger à faire un si mauvais manége; mais franchement on ne rioit que de bout des dens. N'en pouvant plus je commençay le premier à me reposer, cela servit de pretexte à la compagnie pour en faire autant.

Comme la conversation se renouë quand on est assis, l'un parloit des Tigres qui se promenoient fort tranquillement, ou qui se jolloient à une distance assez raisonnable de nous. Un autre se plaignoit que ses eaux

ne passoient pas, & qu'il ne pouvoit plus respirer. Pour moi je n'ai jamais tant appréhendé que quelque vaisseau lymphatique ne se cassât dans mon corps. Enfin parmi tous ces petits contes avec lesquels nous tâchions de nous amuser, & qui sembloient nous donner de nouvelles forces; nous arrivâmes sur le midi dans un endroit plus réjouissant, car il nous sembloit que nous allions prendre la neige avec les dents. Notre joye ne fut pas longue, c'étoit une crête de rocher qui nous déroboit la vue d'un terrain éloigné de la neige, de plus de deux heures de chemin, & ce terrain nous parut d'un nouveau genre de pavé. Ce n'étoient pas de petits cailloux, mais de ces petits éclats de pierres que la gelée fait briser & dont la vive-arête coupe comme celle de la pierre à fusil. Nos Guides disoient qu'ils étoient nuds pieds, & que nous serions bientôt de même; qu'il se faisoit tard, & que nous nous perdriions indubitablement pendant la nuit, ou qu'au moins nous nous casserions le col dans les tenebres, si mieux n'aimions nous reposer pour servir de pasture aux Tigres qui font ordinairement leurs grands coups pendant la nuit. Tout cela nous paroissoit assez vrai-semblable, cependant nos bottines n'étoient pas encore trop mal-traitées. Après avoir jetté les yeux sur nos montres, qui étoient fort bien réglées, nous assûrâmes nos Guides que nous ne passerions pas au delà d'un tas de neige que nous leur montrâmes & qui ne paroissoit gueres plus grand qu'un gâteau; mais quand nous y fûmes arrivés nous y en trouvâmes plus qu'il n'en falloit pour nous rafraîchir, car le tas avoit plus de 30 pas de diametre. Chacun en mangea tant & si peu qu'il voulut, & d'un commun consentement il fut résolu qu'on n'iroit pas plus loin. Cette neige avoit plus de quatre pieds d'épaisseur; & comme elle étoit toute cristallisée, nous en pilâmes un gros morceau dont nous remplîmes notre bouteille. On ne sçauroit croire combien la neige fortifie quand on la

mange. Quelque temps après on sent dans l'estomac une chaleur pareille à celle que l'on sent dans les mains, quand on l'y a tenuë un demi quart d'heure, & bien loin d'avoir des tranchées, comme la plupart des gens se l'imaginent, on en a le ventre tout consolé. Nous descendîmes donc avec une vigueur admirable, ravis d'avoir accompli nôtre vœu, & de n'avoir plus rien à faire que de nous retirer au Monastere.

Comme un bonheur est ordinairement suivi de quelqu'autre, je ne sçai comment j'aperçêus une petite verdure qui brilloit parmi ces débris de pierres. Nous y courûmes tous comme à un tresor, & certainement la découverte nous fit plaisir. C'étoit une espee admirable de Veronique à fellille de Telephium, à laquelle nous ne nous attendions pas, car nous ne pensions plus qu'à nôtre retraite, & nôtre vigueur prétenduë ne fut pas de longue durée. Nous retombâmes dans des sables qui couvroient le dos de l'abîme & qui étoient pour le moins aussi fâcheux que les premiers. Quand nous voulions glisser, nous nous y enterrions jusqu'à la moitié du corps, outre que nous n'allions pas le bon chemin, parce qu'il falloit tourner sur la gauche pour venir sur les bords de l'abîme que nous souhaitions de voir de plus près. C'est une effroyable velle que celle de cet abîme, & David avoit bien raison de dire que ces sortes de lieux monstroient la grandeur du Seigneur.. On ne pouvoit s'empêcher de frémir quand on le découvroit, & la tête tournoit pour peu qu'on voulût en examiner les horribles précipices. Les cris d'une infinité de Corneilles qui volent incessamment de l'un à l'autre costé, one quelque chose d'effrayant. On n'a qu'à s'imaginer une des plus hautes Montagnes du monde, qui n'ouvre son sein que pour faire voir le spectacle le plus affreux qu'on puisse se représenter. Tous ces précipices sont taillez aplomb, & les extrémités en sont hérissées & noirâtres, comme s'il en sortoit quelque fumée qui les

saïft, il n'en sort pourtant que des torrens de bolle. Sur les six heures après midi nous nous trouvâmes tres-épuisez, & nous ne pouvions pas mettre un pied devant l'autre, mais il fallut faire de de nécessité vertu, & mériter les noms de Martyrs de la Botanique.

Nous nous aperçûmes d'un endroit couvert de pelouse, dont la pente paroissoit propre à favoriser nôtre descente, c'est à dire le chemin qu'avoit tenu Noé pour aller au bas de la Montagne. Nous y courûmes avec empressement; on s'y reposa; on y trouva même plus de Plantes qu'on n'avoit fait pendant toute la journée; & ce qui nous fit plaisir, c'est que nos Guides nous firent voir de là, quoique de fort loin, le Monastere où nous devons aller nous désalterer. Je laisse à deviner de quelle voiture Noé se servit pour descendre, lui qui pouvoit monter sur tant de sortes d'animaux puisqu'il les avoit tous à sa suite. Nous nous laissâmes glisser sur le dos pendant plus d'une heure sur ce tapis vert; nous avançons chemin fort agréablement, & nous allions plus vite de cette façon la que si nous avions voulu nous servir de nos jambes. La nuit & la soif nous servoient comme d'éperons pour nous faire hâter. On continua donc à glisser autant que le terrain le permit; & quand nous rencontrions des cailloux qui meurtrissoient nos épaules, nous glissions sur le ventre, ou nous marchions à reculons à quatre pattes. Peu à peu nous nous rendîmes au Monastere, mais si étourdis des coups & si fatiguez de ces alleûres, que nous ne pouvions remuer ni bras ni jambes. Nous trouvâmes assez bonne compagnie dans ce Monastere, dont les portes sont ouvertes à tout le monde, faute de battans pour les fermer. C'étoient des gens du village qui s'y étoient venus promener; ils étoient sur leur départ & malheureusement pour nous ils n'avoient ni eau ni vin. Il fallut donc envoyer au ruisseau, mais nous n'avions

pour tout ustensile que nôtre bouteille de cuir qui ne tenoit qu'environ deux pintes. Quel supplice pour celui de nos Guides sur qui le sort tomba pour l'aller remplir? Il eut à la verité le plaisir de boire le premier, mais personne ne le lui envia, car il le paya bien cher, la descente du Monastere au ruisseau étant de prés d'un quart de lieuë perpendiculaire & le chemin fort herissé. On peut juger de là si le retour devoit être agréable. Il faut demi heure de temps pour ce voyage, & la premiere bouteille fut presque beuë d'un trait; cette eau nous parut du nectar; il fallut donc attendre encore demi heure pour en avoir autant: Quelle misere! Nous montâmes à cheval pendant la nuit pour aller au village chercher du pain & du vin, car après ce manège nous avions le ventre assez vuide; nous n'y arrivâmes que sur le minuit, & celui qui gardoit le clef de l'Eglise où nous devons souper & coucher, dormoit tout à son aise à l'autre bout du village. On fut trop heureux, a cette heure-là, de pouvoir trouver du pain & du vin. Après ce leger repas nous ne laissâmes pas de dormir d'un profond sommeil, sans réve, sans inquiétude, sans indigestion, & même sans sentir les piqueures des cousins.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY



## Bibliography

## I. Reference Works

Bio-bibliographical, etc.

- Adelung, Friedrich von. Kritisch-Literarische Übersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700, deren Berichte bekannt sind. 2 vols. St. Petersburg: 1846; repr. Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1960.
- Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie. 56 vols. Leipzig: Duncker & Humboldt, 1875-1912.
- Ambrosius à S. Teresia, O.C.D., ed. Bio-Bibliographia Missionaria Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum (1584-1940). Rome: Apud Curiam Generalitiam, 1940.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Nomenclator Missionarium Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum. Rome: Apud Curiam Generalitiam, 1944.
- Anon. Lexicon Capuccinum Promptuarium Historico-Bibliographicum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum (1525-1950). Rome: Bibliotheca Collegii Internationalis S. Laurentii Brundusini, 1951.
- Arber, Prof. Edward. The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709, A.D.; with a Number for Easter Term, 1711 A.D. A Contemporary Bibliography of English Literature in the reigns of Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and Anne. 3 vols. London: Privately Printed by the Editor, 1903-1906; repr. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965.
- Atkinson, Geoffroy. La littérature géographique française de la Renaissance -- répertoire bibliographique plus Supplément. Paris: Editions Picard, 1927-1936.
- de Backer, Augustin, S.J., Aloys de Backer, S.J., and Auguste Carayon, S.J., eds. Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. Nouv. edn. ed. by Carlos Sommervogal, S.J. et al. 12 vols. Brussels and Paris: 1890-1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus ou notices bibliographiques l. de tous les ouvrages publiés par les membres de la Compagnie de Jésus depuis la fondation de l'ordre jusqu'à nos jours 2. des apologies, des controverses religieuses, des critiques littéraires et scientifiques suscitées à leur sujet. Nouv. edn. 3 vols. Liege and Paris: chez les auteurs, 1869-1876.
- Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne ou histoire, par ordre alphabétique, de la vie publique et privée de tous les hommes qui se sont fait remarquer par leurs écrits, leurs actions, leurs talents, leurs vertus ou leurs crimes. Nouvelle édition, revue, corrigée et considérablement augmentée d'articles omis ou nouveaux. Ouvrage rédigé

par une société de gens de lettres et de savants. Jules F. and Louis G. Michaud, eds. 45 vols. Paris: Ch. Delagrave et Cie, [1870-1873].

Boucher de la Richarderie, G. Bibliothèque universelle des voyages, ou notice complète et raisonnée de tous les Voyages anciens et modernes dans les différentes parties du monde, publiés tant en langue française qu'en langues étrangères, classés par ordre de pays dans leur série chronologique; avec des extraits plus ou moins rapides des Voyages les plus estimés de chaque pays, et des jugemens motivés sur les Relations anciennes qui ont le plus de célébrité. 6 vols. Paris and Strasbourg: chez Treuttele et Würtz, 1808.

Brunet, Jacques-Charles. Manuel de libraire et de l'amateur de livres. 5th edn. 9 vols. in 15. Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, Frères, Fils et Cie, 1860-1870.

Carmelites. Bibliotheca Carmelitana, Notis Criticis et Dissertationibus Illustrata: Cura & labore Unius à Carmelitis Provinciae Turoniae Collecta. 2 vols. Aureliani: 1752; repr. Rome: 1927.

Collier, J. Payne, ed. A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language, Alphabetically Arranged, which during the last fifty years have come under the observation of J. Payne Collier, F.S.A. 4 vols. London: 1866; repr. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1966.

Cordier, Henri. Bibliotheca Sinica: Dictionnaire Bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'empire chinois. 2nd edn. 4 vols. and supplément. Paris: E. Guilmoto, successeur de J. Maisonneuve, 1904-1924.

Cox, Edward Godfrey. A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel, Including Voyages, Geographical Descriptions, Adventures, Shipwrecks and Expeditions. Volume I. The Old World. University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, IX. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1935; repr. New York: The Greenwood Press, 1969.

Dictionary of National Biography. Leslie Stephens et al., eds. 22 vols. plus Supplements. London: Oxford University Press, 1921-1922.

Encyclopaedia of Islam. 1st edn. M. T. Houtsma, Sir T. W. Arnold, et al., eds. 4 vols. and Supplements. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1908-1938.

Encyclopaedia of Islam. New edition. J. H. Kramers, H. A. R. Gibb, et al., eds. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954-in progress.

Fedden, Robin. English Travellers in the Near East. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958 (no. 97, "Writers and Their Work," a Bibliographical Series of Supplements to 'British Book News' on Writers and Their Work).

Haag, Eugene, ed. La France Protestante, ou vies des protestants français qui se sont fait un nom dans l'histoire depuis les premiers temps de la réformation jusqu'à la reconnaissance du principe de la liberté des cultes par l'assemblée nationale; ouvrage précédé d'une notice historique sur le protestantisme en France et suivi de Pièces justificatives. 10 vols. Paris: varying imprints, 1846-1859.

Hakobyan, Hakob. Utegrut'yunner [Travel Literature]. 2 vols. Erevan: 1932-1934.

Handley-Taylor, Geoffrey, ed. Bibliography of Iran, with a Memoir of His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Arvamehr Shahanshah of Iran by His Excellency Ardeshtir Zahedi, Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs. 5th edn. Chicago and London: St. James Press, 1969.

Jorga, N. "Les voyageurs français dans l'orient européen." Revue des cours et conférences XXVII, 2nd ser., 9 (15 April 1926), 2-17, 14 (30 June 1926), 481-508; XXVIII, 1st ser., 3 (15 January 1927), 268-274, 5 (15 February 1927), 434-445, 7 (15 March 1927), 665-672; XXVIII, 2nd ser., 9 (15 April 1927), 65-73, 10 (30 April 1927), 180-189; XXIX, 1st ser., 5 (15 February 1928), 474-480, 6 (29 February 1928), 567-576. Repr. separately Paris: Boivin & Cie, & J. Gamber, 1928.

Miansarof, M. Bibliographia Caucasica et Transcaucasica. Volume I, sections 1&2. St. Petersburg: 1874-1876.

Moran, Berna. Türklerle ilgili İngilizce Yayınlar Bibliyografyası, On-beşinci Yüzyıldan Onsekizinci Yüzyıla Kadar [Bibliography of English Publications pertaining to the Turks, from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century]. Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınlarından No. 1050. Istanbul: Istanbul Matbaası, 1964.

Nerhood, Harry W., ed. To Russia and Return: An Annotated Bibliography of Travelers' English-Language Accounts of Russia from the Ninth Century to the Present. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1968.

Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à 1850-60 avec les renseignements bibliographiques et l'indication des sources à consulter. Publiées par MM. Firmin Didot Frères sous la direction de M. le Dr. [J. C. F.] Hoefer. 46 vols. in 23. Paris: 1852-1866; repr. Copenhagen: Rosenkildes et Bagger, 1963-1969.

Oxford English Dictionary. James A. H. Murray, et al., eds. 13 vols. plus Supplement. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961.

Pekarskiĭ, Petr. Istoriya Imperatorskoĭ Akademii Nauk'' v'' Peterburge [History of the Imperial Academy of Science in Petersburg]. 2 vols. St. Petersburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoĭ Akademii Nauk'', 1870-1873.

- Penrose, Boies. A Selection of Rare Books, Manuscripts, Maps, and Prints from the Library of Boies Penrose at Barbados Hill, Devon, Pennsylvania. Privately Printed. Camden, Maine: The Megunticook Press, 1942.
- Polievktov, M. A. Evropejskie Putešestvenniki XIII-XVIII vv. po Kavkazu [European Travellers of the 13th-18th Centuries in the Caucasus]. Tiflis: 1935.
- Salmaslian, A. Bibliographie de l'Arménie: Nouvelle édition entièrement revue et considérablement augmentée. Erevan: 1969.
- Schefer, Charles. "Introductory Bio-bibliographical Essay." In his edition of Raphael du Mans, Estat de la Perse en 1660, pp. i-cxv.
- Tiele, P. A., ed. Mémoire bibliographique sur les journaux des navigateurs néerlandais réprimés dans les collections de De Bry et de Hulsius, et dans des collections hollandaises du XVIIe siècle, et sur les anciennes éditions hollandaises des journaux de navigateurs étrangers; la plupart en la possession de Frederik Muller à Amsterdam. Amsterdam: Fr. Muller, 1867; repr. N. Israel, 1960.
- Vacant, A. et al. Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, contenant l'exposé des doctrines de la théologie catholique, leurs preuves et leur histoire. 15 vols. + tables. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1909-1950.
- Vezzosi, Antonio Francesco. I scrittori de' cherici regolari detti teatini. 2 vols. Rome: 1780; repr. Westmead, England: Gregg Press, Ltd., 1966.
- Weber, Shirley Howard, ed. Voyages and Travels in Greece, The Near East, and Adjacent Regions Previous to the Year 1801; Being a Part of a larger Catalogue of Works on Geography, Cartography, Voyages and Travels, in the Gennadius Library in Athens. Princeton, New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies in Athens, 1953.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Voyages and Travels in the Near East Made During the XIXth Century; Being a Part of a larger Catalogue of Works on Geography, Cartography, Voyages and Travels in the Gennadius Library in Athens. Princeton, New Jersey: American School of Classical Studies in Athens, 1952.
- Wilson, Sir Arnold T. A Bibliography of Persia. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1930.
- Wing, Donald, comp. Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700. 3 vols. New York: Printed for the Index Society by Columbia University Press, 1945-1951.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Gallery of Ghosts: Books Published between 1641-1700 Not Found in the Short-Title Catalogue. New York: The Index Committee of The Modern Language Association of America, 1967.

Yule, Col. Henry and A. C. Burnell, eds. Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases. New edn. ed. by William Crooke. London: 1903; repr. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968.

Geographical, including maps

Aliiev, G. V., et al., eds. Atlas Azerbaïdžanskoï Sovetskoï Sotsialis-tičeskoï Respubliki [Atlas of the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Re-public]. Baku and Moscow: 1963.

Ališan, Ė. Ayrarat. Venice: 1890.

\_\_\_\_\_. Sisakan. Venice: 1893.

\_\_\_\_\_. Teġakir Hayoc' Mecac' [Topography of Greater Armenia]. Venice: 1853.

Baïdasaryan, S. B., et al. Haykakan Sovetakan Soġialistakan Respublikayi Atlas [Atlas of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic]. Erevan and Moscow: 1961.

Barbier de Meynard, Casimir. Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse et des contrées adjacentes; extrait en traduction française, avec quelques textes originaux, de Mo'djem el-Bouldan, dictionnaire des pays, de Ibn Abdallah el-Roumi el-Hamawi Yağout, 1179-1229 A.D. et complété à l'aide de documents arabes et persanes pour la plupart inédits avec une préface analytique et des notes critiques. Paris: 1861; repr. Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1970.

Calder, W. M. and George E. Bean. A Classical Map of Asia Minor; being a partial revision, by kind permission of Messrs. John Murray, of J. G. C. Anderson's Map of Asia Minor. London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1958.

Cuinet, Vital. La Turquie d'Asie: Géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie mineure. 4 vols. Paris: Ernest Leroux, éditeur, 1892-1894.

Ėp'rikean, H. S. Patkerazard Bnaġxarhik Baġaran [Illustrated Topographical Dictionary]. 2nd edn. 2 vols. Venice: 1903-1905.

Georgacas, Demetrius J. The Names for the Asia Minor Peninsula and a Register of Surviving Anatolian Pre-Turkish Placenames. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1971.

Harta Genel Müdürlüğü [General Map Office]. Map of Turkey, 1:800,000. Ankara: 1947-1950 [located in Dept. of Middle Eastern Languages, 6th floor, Kent Hall, Columbia University].

Hübbschman, Heinrich. Die Altarmenischen Ortsnamen, mit Beiträgen zur Historischen Topographie Armeniens. Strassburg: 1904; repr. Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1969.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Hin Hayoc' Teiwoc' Anunnerë. Hayoc' Aşxarhin Patmakan Teia-grut'ean Masin -- usumnasirut'iwinnerov [Armenian translation of preceding item]. H. B. Pilëzik'ean, trans. Vienna: 1907.
- Inčič'ean, L. Storagrut'awn Hin Hayastaneayc' [Description of Ancient Armenia]. Venice: 1822.
- Kiepert, Heinrich. Nouvelle carte générale des provinces asiatique de l'empire ottoman (sans l'arabie). 1884.
- Lynch, H. F. B. Map. See H. F. B. Lynch. Armenia: Travels and Studies.
- Pitcher, Donald Edgar. An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire from earliest times to the end of the sixteenth century, with detailed maps to illustrate the expansion of the Sultanate. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972.
- Tanoğlu, Ali, Sirri Erinc, and Erol Tümertekin. Türkiye Atlası -- Atlas of Turkey. Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basimevi, 1961.
- Türkiye'de Meskûn Yerler Kilavuzu [Guide to the Inhabited Places in Turkey]. 2 vols. Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası, 1946-1950.
- USAF Aeronautical Chart and Information Center, Air Photographic and Charting Service, United States Air Force, USAF Aeronautical Approach Chart. St. Louis: 1956-1958, 1:250,000.
- Vidal de la Blache, P., and L. Gallois, gen. eds. Géographie universelle. VIII. Asie occidentale; Haute Asie. R. Blanchard and F. Grenard, eds. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1928.
- Wilson, Sir Charles, ed. Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc. London: John Murray, 1895, with index and directory for 1911.

## II. Primary Sources

### Travel Collections

- Bergeron, Pierre, ed. Relation des Voyages en Tartarie de Fr. Guillaume de Rubruquis, Fr. Jean du Plan Carpin, Fr. Ascelin, & autres Religieux de S. François & S. Dominique, qui y furent enuoyez par le Pape Innocent IV & le Roy Louys. Plus un traicté des Tartares, de leur origine, moeurs, Religion, conquestes, Empire, Chams, Hordes diuerses, & changemens iusqu'aujourd'huy. Avec vn abrege de l'histoire des sarasins et mahometans; de leur pays, peuples, Religion, guerres; suite de leurs Califes, Roys, Soudaks; Et de leur diuers Empires & Estats establis par de Monde. Paris: chez le Veufue Jean de Heuqueuille, & Louys de Heuqueuille, 1634.
- Bernard, Jean Frédéric, ed. Recueil de Voyages au Nord, Contenant divers Mémoires très utiles au Commerce & à la Navigation. 10 vols. Amsterdam: Chez Jean Frédéric Bernard, 1731-1738.

- Churchill, Mess<sup>rs</sup>. [Awnsham and John], comps. A Collection of Voyages and Travels, some Now first Printed from Original Manuscripts, others Now first Publish'd in English. In Six Volumes. With a General Preface, giving an Account of the Progress of Navigation, from its first Beginning. Illustrated with a great Number of useful Maps and Cuts, Curiously Engraven. 2nd edn. London: For John Walthoe; Tho. Wotton; Samuel Birt; Daniel Browne; Thomas Osborn; John Shuckburgh; and Henry Lintot, 1732.
- Eden, Richard, and Richard Willes, eds. The History of Trauayle in the VWest and East Indies, and other countreys lying eyther way, towardes the fruitfull and ryche Moluccaes. As Moscouia, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Aegypte, Ethiopia, Guinea, China in Cathayo, and Giapan: VVith a discourse of the Northwest passage. London: Richarde Iugge, 1577.
- Hakluyt, Richard. The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or Over-Land to the Remote and Farthest Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 Yeeres. 12 vols. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903-1905; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1965.
- [Harris, John, comp.] Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca. Or, a Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels. Consisting of above Six hundred of the most Authentic Writers, beginning with Hackluit, Purchass, &c. in English; Ramusio, Alamandini, Carreri, &c. in Italian; Thevenot, Renaudot, Labat, &c. in French; De Brye, Cyrynaeus, Maf-feus, &c. in Latin; Herrera, Oviedo, Coreal, &c. in Spanish; And the Voyages under the Direction of the East-India Company in Holland, in Dutch. Together with such Other Histories, Voyages, Travels, or Discoveries, As are in General Esteem; Whether published in English, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Portugese, High and Low Dutch, or in any other European Language. Containing whatever has been observed Worthy of Notice in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; In respect to the Extent and Situation of Empires, Kingdoms, Provinces, &c. The Climate, Soil, and Produce, whether Animal, Vegetable, or Mineral, of Each Country: Likewise the Religion, Manners, and Customs of the several Inhabitants, their Government, Arts and Sciences, Publick Buildings, Mountains, Rivers, Harbours, &c. Illustrated by Proper Charts, Maps, and Cuts. To which is prefixed, A Copious Introduction, comprehending the Rise and Proress [sic] of the Art of Navigation, and its successive Improvements; together with the Invention and Use of the Loadstone, and its Variation. Now Carefully Revised, with Large Additions, and Continued down to the Present Time; Including Particular Accounts of the Manufactures and Commerce of Each Country. 2 vols. London: Printed for T. Osborne et al., 1764.
- Kerr, Robert, comp. A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, arranged in Systematic Order: Forming a Complete History of the Origin and Progress of Navigation, Discovery, and Commerce, by Sea and Land, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time. 18 vols. Edinburgh: Printed by George Ramsay and Company, for William Blackwood; J. Murray, R. Baldwin, London; and J. Cuming, Dublin, 1811-1817.

- Murray, Hugh. Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, from the Earliest Ages to the Present time. 3 vols. Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable and Co., Edinburgh; and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London; 1820.
- Osborne, Thomas, comp. A Collection of Voyages and Travels, consisting of Authentic Writers in our own Tongue which have not before been collected in English, or have only been abridged in other Collections. And continued with Others of Note, that have published Histories, Voyages, Travels, Journals or Discoveries in other Nations and Languages, relating to any Part of the Continent of Asia, Africa, America, Europe, or the Islands thereof, from the earliest Account to the present Time. Digested according to the Parts of the World, to which they particularly relate: with Historical Introductions to each Account, when thought necessary, containing either the Lives of their Authors, or what else could be discovered and was supposed capable of entertaining and informing the curious Reader. And with great Variety of Arts, Prospects, Ruins, Maps, and Charts. Compiled from the curious and valuable Library of the late Earl of Oxford. Interpersed and illustrated with Notes, containing, either a General Account of the Discovery of those Countries, or an Abstract of their Histories, Government, Trade, Religion, &c. collected from Original Papers, Letters, Charters, Letters Patents, Acts of Parliament, &c., not to be met with and proper to explain many obscure passages in other Collections of this kind. 2 vols. London: Printed for and sold by Thomas Osborne of Gray's-Inn, 1745-1747.
- Pinkerton, John, ed. A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World; Many of which are now first translated into English. Digested on a New Plan. Illustrated with Plates. 17 vols. London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, and Cadell and Davies, 1808-1814.
- Purchas, Samuel. Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes, Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others. 20 vols. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1905-1907; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1965.
- Schefer, Ch. and Henri Cordier, eds. Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie depuis le XIIIe jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle. 24 vols. Paris: Ernest LeRoux, 1882-1923.
- [Smart, Christopher, Oliver Goldsmith, and Samuel Johnson, comps.] The World displayed; or, a curious collection of Voyages and Travels, selected from the Writers of all Nations. In which the Conjectures and Interpolations of several vain Editors and Translators are expunged, every Relation is made concise and plain, and the Divisions of Countries and Kingdoms are clearly and distinctly noted. Illustrated and embellished with Variety of Maps and Prints by the best Hands. 20 vols. London: Printed for J. Newbery [and Dublin: J. Hoey, in later volumes], 1759-1761.



[Thevenot, Melchisedech, ed.] Relations de divers voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiees; ou qui ont esté traduites d'Haclyut, de Purchas, & d'autres Voyageurs Anglois, Hollandois, Portugais, Allemands, Espagnols; et de quelques Persans, Arabes, et autres auteurs orientaux. Enrichies de figure de plantes non décrites, d'animaux inconnus à l'Europe, & de cartes géographiques de pays dont on n'a point encore donné de Cartes. 5 parts. Paris: I. Langlois, chez G. Meturas, pere et fils [imprint varies in later volumes], 1663-1696.

Seventeenth Century Travellers in Armenia

Avril, Philippe, S. J. Voyage en divers Etats d'Europe et d'Asie, entrepris pour découvrir un nouveau chemin à la Chine. Contenant Plusieurs Remarques curieuses de Physique, de Géographie, d'Hydrographie & d'Histoire. Avec une Description de la Grande Tartarie, & des differens Peuples qui l'habitent. Paris: chez Claude Barbin; Jean Boudot; George & Louis Josse, 1692.

---

. Travels Into divers Parts of Europe and Asia, Undertaken by the French King's order to discover a new Way by Land into CHINA. Containing many curious Remarks in Natural Philosophy, Geography, Hydrography, and History. Together with a Description of Great Tartary, and of the different Peoples who inhabit there. By Father Avril, of the Order of the Jesuits. Done Out of French. To which is added a Supplement extracted from Hakluyt and Purchas; giving an account of several Journeys over-Land from Russia, Persia and the Moguls Country, to China. Together with the Roads and distances of the places. London: Printed for Tim. Goodwin at the Maidenhead over-against St. Dunstan's-Church in Fleetstreet, 1693.

Bèze, Claude de, S.J. "Astronomical Determinations." Observations physiques et mathématiques pour servir à l'histoire naturelle, etc., envoyées des Indes et de la Chine à l'Académie royale des sciences à Paris par les Peres Jesuites; avec Notes du P. Gouye. Paris: l'Imprimerie royale, 1692.

---

. "Astronomical Determinations." Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences (1699), p. 85.

Buxbaum, J[ohann] C[hristian]. Plantarum minus Cognitarum Centuria I-V complectens Plantas circa Byzantium & in Oriente observatas. 5 vols. St. Petersburg: Ex Typographia Academiae, 1728-1740.

Cartwright, John. The Preachers Travels. Wherein is set downe a true Iournall to the confines of the East Indies, through the Great Countreyes of Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Media, Hircania and Parthia. With the Authors returne by the way of Persia, Susiana, Assiria, Chaldea, and Arabia. Containing a full suruew of the Knigdom [sic] of Persia: and in what termes the Persian stands with the Great Turke at this day: Also a true relation of Sir Anthonie Sherleys entertainment there: and the estate that his Brother, M. Robert Sherley

lived in after his departure for Christendome. With the description of a Port in the Persian gulf, commodious for our East Indian Merchants; and a briefe rehearsall of some grosse absurdities in the Turkish Alcoran. London: Printed for Thomas Thorppe, and are to bee sold by Walter Burre, 1611.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Observations of Master John Cartwright in his Voyage from Aleppo to Hispaan, and back again: published by himselfe, and here contracted." In Samuel Purchas, ed. Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes [hereafter Purchas], VIII, pp. 482-523.

Chardin, Jean. Journal du Voyage du Chey<sup>r</sup> Chardin en Perse, & aux Indes Orientales par le Mer Noire, & par le Colchide. Première partie, qui contient le voyage de Paris à Isfahan. London: Moses Pitt, 1686.

\_\_\_\_\_. Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient. Enrichis de Figures en Taille-douce, qui representent les Antiquités & les choses remarquables du Païs. Nouvelle edition, augmentée du Couronnement de Soliman III. & d'un grand nombre de Passages tirés du Manuscrit de l'Auteur, qui ne se trouvent point dans les Editions précédentes. 4 vols. Amsterdam: aux depens de la Compagnie, 1735.

\_\_\_\_\_. Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'orient, enrichis d'un grand nombre de belles figures en taille-douce, representant les antiquités et les choses remarquables du pays. Nouvelle édition, soigneusement conférée sur les trois éditions originales, augmentée d'une Notice de la Perse, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à ce jour, de Notes, etc. L. Langlès, ed. 10 vols. plus Atlas. Paris: Le Normant, Imprimeur-Libraire, 1811.

\_\_\_\_\_. Voyages en Perse. Claude Gaudon, ed. Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1965.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East Indies. The First Volume, Containing the Author's Voyage from Paris to Ispahan. To which is added, the Coronation of this Present King of Persia, Solyma the Third. London: Printed for Moses Pitt, 1686.

\_\_\_\_\_. Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia. Introduction by Brig. Gen'l. Sir Percy Sykes. N. M. Penzer, ed. London: The Argonaut Press, 1927; repr. Amsterdam: N. Israel; New York: Da Capo Press, 1971.

\_\_\_\_\_. Le Couronnement de Soleimaan Troisième Roy de Perse, et ce qui s'est passé de plus memorable dans les deux premieres années de son Regne. Paris: Claude Barbin, 1671.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Un Festin arménien au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle." Revue des études arméniennes n.s. III (1966), 380-386.

Coryat, Thomas. CORYATS CRUDITIES Hastily gobbled up in five moneths travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia commonly called the Grisons country, Helvetia alias Switzerland, some parts of high Germany, and the Netherlands: Newly digested in the hungry aire of Odcombe in the County of Somerset, & now dispersed to the nourishment of the travelling Members of this Kingdome. London: Printed by W. S. [William Stansby], 1611.

\_\_\_\_\_. Coryat's Crudities; Reprinted from the Edition of 1611. To which are now added, His Letters from India, &c. and extracts relating to him, from various authors: Being a more particular Account of his Travels (mostly on Foot) in different Parts of the Globe, than any hitherto published. Together with his Orations, Characters, Death, &c. with Copper Plates. 3 vols. London: Printed for W. Cater, J. Wilkie, and E. Easton, 1776.

\_\_\_\_\_. Coryat's Crudities, etc. 2 vols. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1905.

\_\_\_\_\_. Coryats Crambe, or his Colwort Twise Sodden, And Now Serued in with other Macaronicke dishes as the second Course to his Crudities. London: Printed by William Stansby, 1611.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Master Thomas Coryates travels to, and Observations in Constantinople, and other places in the way thither, and his Journey thence to Aleppo Damasco and Jerusalem." In Purchas, X, pp. 389-447.

\_\_\_\_\_. Trauller for the English VVits: Greeting. From the Court of the Great Mogul, Resident at the Towne of Asmere, in Easterne India. Printed by W. Iaggard, and Henry Featherston, 1616.

Daulier-Deslandes, André. Les Beautez de la Perse, ou la Description de ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans ce Royaume, enrichie de la Carte du Païs, & de plusieurs Estampes designées sur les lieux. Par le Sieur A.D.D.V. [André Daulier-Deslandes, Vendômois] Avec une Relation de quelques aventures maritimes de L.M.P.R.D.G.D.F. [Louis Marot, pilote real des galères de France]. Paris: chez Gervais Clouzier, 1673.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Beauties of Persia. Sir A. T. Wilson, trans. London: The Persia Society, 1926.

[Gabriel de Chinon]. Relations nouvelles du Levant: ou traités de la Religion, du Gouvernement, & des Coûtumes des Perses, des Armeniens, & des Gaures. Avec une description particuliere de l'établissement, & des progres qui y font les Missionnaires, & diverses disputes qu'ils ont eu avec les Orientaux. Composés par le P.G.D.C. [Père Gabriel de Chinon] & donnés au public pas le Sieur L.M.P.D.E.T. [Louis Moreri, prêtre, docteur en théologie]. Lyon: chez Iean Thioly, 1671.

Galanus, Clement. Grammaticae & Logicae Institutiones Linguae literalis Armenicae Armenis traditae a D. Clemente Galano Clerico Regulari, sacrae Theologiae Professore, & sanctae Sedis Apostolicae ad Armenos Missionario. Addito Vocabulario Armeno-Latino omnium Scholasticarum Dictionum. Rome: ex Typographia sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1645.

\_\_\_\_\_. Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana ex Iphis Armenorum Patrum & Doctorum testimoniis, in duas Partes, Historicalem & Controversialem divise. 2 parts in 3 vols. Rome: typis sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1650-1661.

\_\_\_\_\_. Historia Armena, Ecclesiastica, & Politica, Nunc Primum in Germania Excusa, & ad Exemplar Romanum diligenter expressa. Cologne: 1686 [reprint of Part 1 of preceding item].

Gemelli-Careri, Giovanni Francesco. Giro del Mondo. 6 vols. Naples: 1699-1700.

\_\_\_\_\_. Giro del Mondo. 6 vols. Naples: 1721.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Voyage round the World, in Six Parts." In Churchill, [A. & J.] comps. A Collection of Voyages and Travels, IV, pp. 1-572.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Travels in India." In S. Senn, ed. Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri.

Grueber, Johann, S.J. In A. Kircher, S.J. China Illustrata; idem. La Chine; M. Thevenot, Relations, IV; and J. Pinkerton, A General Collection, VII.

La Boullaye-Le-Gouz, François de. Les Voyages et Observations du Sieur de La Boullaye-Le-Gouz Gentil-homme Angevin, Où sont decrites les Religions, Gouvernemens, & situations des Estats & Royaumes d'Italie, Grece, Natolie, Syrie, Palestine, Karamenie, Kaldée, Assyrie, grand Mogol, Bijapour, Indes Orientales des Portugais, Arabie, Egypte, Hollande, grand Bretagne, Irlande, Dannemark, Pologne, Isles & autres lieux d'Europe, Asie & Affrique, où il a séjourné, le tout enrichy de Figures; Et Dedié à l'Eminentissime Cardinal Capponi. Paris: chez Gervais Clousier, 1653. 2nd edn. Paris: 1657.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Tour of the French Traveller M. de La Boullaye Le Gouz in Ireland, A.D.1644. T. Crofton Croker, ed. London: T. and W. Boone, 1837.

Lucas, Paul. Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant. Nouvelle édition revue corrigée. 2 vols. in 1. Paris: 1704; repr. Paris: Chez Nicolas Simart, 1714.

\_\_\_\_\_. Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait par ordre du Roy dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure, la Macedoine et l'Afrique. 2 vols. Paris: Chez Nicolas Simart, 1712.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Troisième Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait en M. DCCXIV, &c. par ordre de Louis XIV. dans la Turquie, l'Asie, la Sourie, la Palestine, la Haute et la Basse Egypte, &c. Où l'on trouvera des Remarques très-curieuses, comparées à ce qu'ont dit les Anciens sur le Labyrinthe d'Egypte; un grand nombre d'autres Monuments de l'Antiquité, dont il a fait la découverte; une Description du Gouvernement, des Forces, de la Religion, de la Politique, & de l'état present des Turcs; une Relation de leurs Préparatifs faits pour la dernière Guerre contre l'Empereur, & un Parallele des Coûtumes Modernes des Egyptiens avec les anciennes, &c. 3 vols. Rouen: chez Robert Machuel le jeune, 1719.
- Maggio, Francesco-Maria. Syntagmata Linguarum Orientalium quae in Georgiae regionibus audiuntur. Liber primus complectens Georgianae, seu Ibericae vulgaris Linguae Institutiones Grammaticas. Liber secundus complectens Arabum & Turcarum Orthographiam, ac Turcicae Linguae Institutiones. Rome: 1643.
- Manucci, Niccolo. The General History of the Mogol Empire from its Foundation by Tamerlane, to the Late Emperor Oranzeb. Extracted from the Memoirs of M. Manouchi, A Venetian, and Chief Physitian to Oranzeb for above Forty Years. F. F. Catrou, ed. and trans. London: Printed for Johan Bowyer, 1709.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653-1708. William Irvine, trans. and ed. 4 vols. London: John Murray, 1906-1908; repr. Calcutta: Editions Indiana, 1965.
- Maze, Jean-Baptiste de la, S.J. "Journal du voyage du P. de la Maze, de Chamakié à Ispahan, par la province du Guilan." In Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, I, pp. 357-372. See also Fleuriau, Nouveaux Mémoires, III, pp. 393-482.
- Midnall, John. "The Travels of John Mildenhall into the Indies, and in the Countryes of Persia, and of the Great Mogor or Mogull (where he is reported afterwards to have died of Poyson) written by himselfe in two Letters following." In Purchas, II, pp. 297-304; see also Foster, Early Travels in India, pp. 48-59.
- Monier, Léonard, S.J. "Lettre du P. Monier au P. Fleuriau, sur l'Arménie." In Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, I, pp. 293-329.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Relation de l'Armenie" [identical to preceding "Lettre"]. In Bernard. Recueil de voyages au nord. 3rd edn. VI, pp. 1-116.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Journal du voyage du P. Monier d'Erzerum à Trebizonde." In Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, I, pp. 329-332.
- Newbery, John. "Two Voyages of Master John Newberie, One, into the Holy Land; The other to Balsara, Ormus, Persia, and backe thorow Turkie." In Purchas, VIII, pp. 449-481.

Pétis de la Croix, François. "Extrait du journal du sieur Petis, Fils, Professeur en Arabe, et secrétaire interprète entretenu en la marine, renfermant tout ce qu'il a vu et fait en Orient, durant dix années qu'il y a demeuré par l'ordre de sa Majesté; présenté à Monseigneur Phelipeaux, secrétaire d'état, en 1694: Publié avec quelques notes; par M. Langlès." In L. Langlès, ed. Relation de Dourry Efendy, Ambassadeur de la porte othomane auprès du roi de Perse, traduite du turk, et suivie de l'Extrait des voyages de Pétis de la Croix, rédigé par lui-même. Paris: chez Ferra, Libraire, 1810, pp. 73-174.

Philippus à Sanctissima Trinitate [Philippe de la Très Sainte Trinité]. Itinerarium Orientale R.P.F. Philippi A SSma Trinitate Carmelitae Discalceati ab ipso conscriptum. In quo varij successus Itineris, plures Orientis Regiones, earum Montes, Maris & Flumina, Series Principum, qui in eis dominati sunt, Incolatam Christiani, quam Infideles Populi. Animalia, Arbores, Plantae & Fructus; Religiosorum in Oriente Missiones, ac varij celebres euentus describuntur. Lugduni [Lyon]: Sumptibus Antonii Iullieron, 1649.

. Voyage d'Orient du R. P. Philippe de la tres-sainte Trinité Carme Deschaussé, où il décrit les diuers succez de son Voyage, plusieurs Régions d'Orient, leurs Montagnes, leurs Mers & leurs Fleuves, la Chronologie des Princes qui y ont dominé, leurs Habitans tant Chrestiens qu'Infidelles. Les Animaux, les Arbres, les Plantes, & les Fruits qui s'y trouuent, & enfin les Missions des Religieux qui y ont esté fondées, & les diuers Euenemens qui y arriuerent. Composé, reueu & augmenté par luy mesme. Et traduit du Latin par vn Religieux de mesme Ordre [Pierre de S. André]. Lyon: chez Antoine Iullieron, 1652.

. Histoire de Pierre Berthelot pilote et cosmographe du roi de Portugal aux Indes Orientales, carme déchaussé. Né en Normandie en MDC -- Mort à Achemen MDCXXXVIII. Publiée d'après l'Itinerarium orientale avec une préface et des notes. Charles Bréard, ed. Paris: Alphonse Picard, Éditeur, 1889.

Poser, Heinrich von. Des Edelgebohrnen Herren Heinrich von Poser und Gross Nedlitz Lebens-und Todes Geschichte, worinnen das Tagebuch seiner Reise von Constantinopel und durch Bulgarey, Armenien, Persien und Indien aus Licht gestellet. Jena: 1675.

Pouillet. Nouvelles Relations du Levant, qui contiennent diuerses remarques fort curieuses non encore obseruées touchant la Religion, les Moeurs, & la Politique de plusieurs Peuples. 2 vols. Paris: chez Louys Billaine, 1667-1668.

Rhodes, Alexandre de, S.J. Divers Voyages et Missions dv Pere Alexandre de Rhodes en la Chine, & autres Royaumes de l'Orient. Avec son retour en Europe par la Perse & l'Armenie. Le tout diuisé en trois parties. Paris: Chez Sebastien Cramoisy et Gabriel Cramoisy, 1654.

. Rhodes of Viet Nam: The Travels and Missions of Father Alexander de Rhodes in China and Other Kingdoms of the Orient. Solange Hertz, trans. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1966.

- . Relation de la Mission des Peres de la Compagnie de Iesus. Etablie dans le Royaume de Perse par le R. P. Alexandre de Rhodes. Dressée et mise au iour par un Pere de la mesme Compagnie [Père Jacques de Machault]. Paris: chez Iean Hennault, 1659.
- . "History of the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, Established in Persia by the Reverend Father Alexander of Rhodes." Sir Arnold T. Wilson, trans. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies III, 4 (1925), 675-706.
- Ricard, Pierre René, S.J. "Lettre du P. Ricard, missionnaire de la compagnie de Jésus, du 7 août 1697." In Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, I, pp. 337-340.
- Rigordi, François, S.J. Peregrinationes apostolicae R. P. Francisci Rigordi, . . . qui XII novembris anni MDCXLIII Massilia solvens, per mare Mediterraneum, per Syriam, Arabiam desertam, Mesopotamiam, Chaldeam, Persidem, Sinum Persicum et mare Indicum Goam pervenit 18 martii anni 1646. Inde egressus 14 septembris ejusdem anni . . . rediit Massiliam . . . 4 junii anni 1649. Massiliae [Marseillae]: apud C. Garcin, 1652. 2nd edn. by A. Carayon, S.J. Paris: 1874.
- . Les remarques de l'illustre Pelerin tres curieuses. Lyon: 1673.
- Schillinger, Franz Caspar. Persianische und Ost-Indianische Reis welche Frantz Caspar Schillinger von Ettlingen in der Marggraffschafft Baaden, mit P. Wilhelm Weber und P. Wilhelm Mayr, aus der Societät Jesu, durch das Türkische Gebiet im Jahr 1699 angefangen und 1702 vollendet: Darbey ein wahrhafter Bericht etlicher Begebenheiten, die sich Zeit solcher vier-jährigen Reise zu Land und zu Wasser mit ihm, und anderen seinen Mitgefahrten zugetragen: neben Beschreibung vieler Orientalischen Völckern; dero Landschafften, Religion, Policey, Gebräuch, Sitten, Art, Tracht, Weis und Manier unter sich und mit denen Fremden zu leben; mit beygesetzter Darstellung deren zahmen und wilden Thieren in Indien, wie auch Vögeln, Fischen; verwunderlicher Früchten, Erd- und See Gewächsen, u. s. w. Von obengemeldtem Authore aufgezeichnet; durch einen guten Freund in gegenwärtige Ordnung verfasst, und einem Reisliebendem Leser zu Gefallen vorgeleget. Nurnberg: Johann Christoph Lochners, 1707.
- Struys, Jan Janszoon. Drie aanmerkelijke en seer rampspoedige Reyssen, door Italien, Griekenlandt, Lijflandt, Moscovien, Tartarijen, Meden, Persien, Oost-Indien, Japan, en verscheyden andere Gewesten. Amsterdam: 1676.
- . Les Voyages de Jean Struys, en Moscovie, en Tartarie, en Perse, aux Indes, & en plusieurs autres pays etrangers; Accompagnés de remarques particulières sur la qualité, la Religion, le gouvernement, les coutumes & le négoce des lieux qu'il a vus; avec quantité de figures en taille douce dessinées par lui-même; & deux l'etres qui traitent à fond des malheurs d'Astracan. A quoi l'on a ajouté comme une chose digne d'être suë, le Relation d'un Naufrage, dont les suites ont produit des effets extraordinaires. M. Glanvius, trans. Amsterdam: Ches la Veuve de Jacob van Meurs, 1681.

. The Voiaages and Travels of John Struys through Italy, Greece, Muscovy, Tartary, Media, Persia, East-India, Japan, and other Countires in Europe, Africa and Asia: containing Remarks and Observations upon the Manners, Religion, Politics, Customs and Laws of the Inhabitants; and a Description of their severall Cities, Towns, Ports, and Places of Strength: Together with an Account of the Authors many Dangers by Shipwreck, Robbery, Slavery, Hunger, Torture, and the like. And Two Narratives of the Taking of Astracan by the Cossaks, sent from Captain D. Butler. Illustrated with Copper Plates, designed and taken from the Life by the Author himself. Done out of Dutch, By Johh [sic] Morrison. London: Printed for Abel Swalle, at the Unicorn at the West-End of St. Paul's Church-yard, 1684.

Tavernier, Jean Baptiste. Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Ecuyer Baron d'Aubonne, en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes, pendant l'espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes que l'on peut tenir: accompagnez d'observations particulieres sur la qualite, la religion, le gouvernement, les coùtumes & le commerce de chaque Pais, avec les figures, le poids, & la valeur des monnoyes qui y ont cours. 2 vols. Paris: chez Gervais Clouzier et Claude Barbin, 1676.

. The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne; through Turkey, into Persia and the East-Indies, for the space of Forty Years. Giving an Account of the present State of those Countries, Viz. Of the Religion, Government, Customs, and Commerce of every Country; and the Figures, Weight and Value of the Money current all over Asia. To which is added, a new Description of the Seraglio. J. P. [John Philips], trans. London: Printed by William Godbid, for Robert Littlebury, 1677.

. Recueil de plusieurs Relations et Traitez singuliers & curieux de J. B. Tavernier, Chevalier, Baron d'Aubonne. Qui n'ont point esté mis dans ses premiers Voyages. Divisé en cinq parties. I. Une Relation du Japon, & de la cause de la persecution des Chrestiens dans ses Isles: Avec la Carte du Pays. II. Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la Negociation des Deputez qui ont esté en Perse & aux Indes, tant de la part du Roy, que de la Compagnie Françoisse, pour l'establisement du Commerce. III. Observations sur le Commerce des Indes Orientales, & sur les fraudes qui s'y peuvent commettre. IV. Relation nouvelle & singuliere du Royaume de Tunquin: avec plusieurs Figures & la Carte du Pays. V. Histoire de la conduite des Hollandois en Asie. Avec la Relation de l'interieur du Serrail du Grand Seigneur. Suivent la Copie, Imprimée à Paris. [Amsterdam?:] 1679.

. A Collection of Several Relations & Treatises Singular and Curious, of John Baptista Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne. Not Printed among his first Voyages. Divided into Five Parts, viz. I. A new and singular Relation of the Kingdom of Tunquin, with several Figures, and a Map of the Country. II. How the Hollanders manage their Affairs in Asia. III. A Relation of Japan, and the Cause of the persecution of the Christians in those Islands; with a Map of the Country. IV. A Relation of what passed in the Negotiation of the Deputies which were at Persia and the Indies, as well on the French King's



as the Company's behalf, for the Establishment of Trade. V. Observations upon the East India Trade, and the Frauds there subject to be committed. Published by Edmund Everard, Esquire. London: Printed by A. Godbid and J. Playford, for Moses Pitt, 1680.

\_\_\_\_\_. Nouvelle Relation de l'interieur du Serrail du grand seigneur. Contenant plusieurs singularitez qui jusqu'icy n'ont point esté mises en lumiere. Paris: chez Olivier de Varennes, 1675.

\_\_\_\_\_. A New Relation of the Inner-Part of the Grand Seignor's Seraglio. Containing Several Remarkable Particulars, never before expos'd to publick view. London: Printed and Sold by R[obert] L[ittlebury] and Moses Pitt, 1677.

\_\_\_\_\_. Voyages en Perse et description de ce royaume. Pascal Pia, ed. Paris: Du Carrefour, 1930.

\_\_\_\_\_. Voyages en Perse. Preface by Pierre Sabbagh; Introduction by Vincent Monteil. Paris: Le Cercle du Bibliophile, 1970?

\_\_\_\_\_. Travels in India. V. Ball, ed. and trans. 2nd edn. by William Crooke. 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1925.

Tectander von der Jabel, Georg. Iter Persicum, Kurtze doch aussföhrliche vnd warhafftige Beschreibung der persianischen Reiss: welche auff der Röm: Kay: Maj: allergnedig. Befelch, im Jahr Christi 1602, von dem Edlen vnd Gestrengen Herren Stephano Kakasch von Zalonkemeny vornehmen Siebenburgischen von Adel, angefangen: vnd als derselbig vnterwegen zu Lantzzen in Medicer Land todes verschieden: von seinem Reissbefehrten Georgio Tectandro von der Jabel vollends continuiret vnd verichtet worden. Altenburg in Meissen: 1609.

\_\_\_\_\_. Iter Persicum, etc. In Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst, nos. 11, 12, 27, 29, 37, 39, 40, 41, (1819).

\_\_\_\_\_. Iter Persicum, ou description du voyage en Perse entrepris en 1602. Charles Schefer, trans. Bibliothèque orientale Elzévirienne, X. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1877.

Tournefort, Joseph Pitton de. Relation d'un Voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du Roy. Contenant L'Histoire Ancienne & Moderne de plusieurs Isles de l'Archipel, de Constantinople, des côtes de la Mer Noire, de l'Arménie, de la Georgie, des Frontières de Perse & de l'Asie Mineure. Avec les Plans des Villes & des Lieux Considerables; La Genie, les Moeurs, le Commerce & la Religion des differens Peuples qui les habitent; Et l'Exploration des Médailles & des Monuments Antiques. Enricie de Descriptions & de Figures d'un grand nombre de Plantes rares, de divers Animaux; et de plusieurs Observations touchant l'Histoire naturelle. 2 vols. Paris: de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1717.

\_\_\_\_\_. A Voyage into the Levant: Perform'd by the Command of the Late French King. Containing The Antient and Modern State of the

Islands of the Archipelago; as also of Constantinople, the Coasts of the Black Sea, Armenia, Georgia, the Frontiers of Persia, and Asia Minor. With Plans of the Principal Towns and Places of Note; an Account of the Genius, Manners, Trade, and Religion of the respective People inhabiting those Parts: And an Explanation of Variety of Medals and Antique Monuments. Illustrated with Full Descriptions and Curious Copper-Plates of Great Numbers of Uncommon Plants, Animals, &c. And several Observations in Natural History. To which is Prefix'd, The Author's LIFE, in a Letter to M. Begon: As also his Elogium, pronounc'd by M. Fontenelle, before a publick Assembly of the Academy of Sciences. Adorn'd with an Accurate Map of the Author's Travels, not in the French Edition: Done by Mr. Senex. London: Printed for D. Browne, A. Bell, J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, J. Pemberton, C. Rivington, J. Hooke, R. Cruttenden and T. Cox, J. Battley, E. Symon, 1718.

[Villotte, Jacques, S.J.]. Voyages d'un missionnaire de la compagnie de Jesus, en Turquie, en Perse, en Armenie, en Arabie, & en Barbarie [Nicolas Frizon, S.J., ed.] Paris: Chez Jacques Vincent, rue & vis-à-vis l'Eglise de S. Severin, à l'Ange, 1730.

Seventeenth Century Travellers to Persia not in  
Armenia

Angelus à S. Joseph. Gazophylacium Linguae Persarum, Triplici Linguarum Clavi Italicae, Latinae, Gallicae, nec non specialibus praeceptis ejusdem linguae reseratum. Opus Missionaris Orientalibus, Linguarum Professoribus, Sacrorum Bibliorum. Scrutatoribus, Mercatoribus, caeterisque Regionum Orientalium lustratoribus perutile, ac necessarium. Amsterdam: Janson-Waesberg, 1684.

Anon. "A True Report of Sir Anthony Sherley's Journey overland to Venice, from thence by Sea to Antioch, Aleppo, and Babilon, and so to Casbine in Persia: His Entertainment there by the Great Sophi: His Oration: His Letters of Credence to the Christian Princes: and the Privilege obtained of the Great Sophi for the Quiet Passage and Traffic of all Christian Merchants throughout his whole Dominions." In Sir E. Denison Ross, ed. Sir Anthony Sherley and His Persian Adventure Including some Contemporary Narratives relating thereto. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1933, pp. 91-97.

Antonio di Fiandra. "Report of 28 March 1649." In G. Berchet. La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia. C. Negri, ed. Torino: Tipographia G. B. Paravia e Comp., 1865. Doc. L., pp. 218-225.

Bachoud, Louis, S.J. "Lettre du Père Bachoud, écrite de Chamakié le 25 Septembre, 1721." In Lettres édifiantes et curieuses I, pp. 312-375.

Bell, John. Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to Diverse Parts of Asia. 2 vols. Glasgow: Robert and Andrew Foulis, 1763.

- \_\_\_\_\_. A Journey from St. Petersburg to Pekin, 1719-22. J. L. Stevenson, ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965.
- Bell, Richard, and John Campbell. "The Travels of Richard Bell (and John Campbell) in the East Indies, Persia, and Palestine, 1654-1670." Sir. R. C. Temple, ed. The Indian Antiquary XXXV (1906), 131-142, 168-178, 203-210; XXXVI (1907), 98-105, 125-134, 173-179; XXXVII (1908), 156-170.
- Brenner, Henrik. Epitome Commentariorum Moysis Armeni, de Origine & Regibus Armenorum et Parthorum, item Series Principum Iberiae et Georgiae, cum notis & observationibus Henrici Brenneri, Accessit ejusdem Epistola ad plur. reverend. & celeberrim. Doct. Ericum Benzelum de praesenti statu quarundam gentium orientalium. Stockholm: Joh. Laurent. Horn, 1723.
- Bruyn, Cornelis de. Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn, door de vermaardste Deelen van Klein Asia, de Eylanden Scio, Rhodus, Cyprus, Metelino, Stanchio, &c. Mitsgaders de voornaamste Steden van Aegypten, Syrien en Palestina, Verrijkt met meer als 200. kopere Konstplaten, vertoonende de beroemdste Landschappen, Steden, &c. Alles door den Auteur selfs na het leven afgetekend. Delft: Gedrukt by Henrik van Krooneveld, 1698.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Voyage au Levant, c'est à dire dans les Principaux endroits de l'Asie Mineure dans les Isles de Chio, de Rhodes, de Chypre &c. De même que dans les plus Considerables Villes d'Egypte, de Syrie, et de la Terre Sainte; Enrichi de plus de Deux Cens Tailles-douces, où sont représentées les plus célèbres villes, Pays, Bourgs, & autres choses dignes de remarque, le tout dessiné d'après nature: par Corneille Le Brun. Traduit du Flamand. Delft: chez Henri de Krooneveld, 1700.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Voyage to the Levant: or, Travels in the Principal Parts of Asia Minor, the Islands of Scio, Rhodes, Cyprus, &c. With an Account of the most Considerable Cities of Egypt, Syria and the Holy Land. Enrich'd with above Two Hundred Copper-Plates, wherein are represented the most Noted Cities, Countries, Towns, and other remarkable Things, all Drawn to the Life. W. J., trans. London: Printed for Jacob Tonson; and Thomas Bennet, 1702.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Reizen over Moskovie, door Persie en Indie: Verrykt met Driehondert Kunstplaten, vertoonende Deberoemste lantschappen en Steden, ook de byzondere dragten, beesten, gewassen en planten, die daar gevonden worden: Voor al Derzelver oudheden, en wel voornamentlyk heel uitvoerig, die van het Heerlyke en van oudts de geheele werelt door befaemde Hof van Persepolis, by den Persianen Tchilminar genaemt. Alles door den Auteur zelf met groote naeukeurigheid na't leven afgetekent, en nooit voor dezen in't ligt gebragt. Amsterdam: By Rudolph en Gerard Wetstein, Joannes Oosterwyk, Hendrik van de Gaete. Boekverkopers, 1714.

. Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes Orientales. Ouvrage enrichi de plus de 320. Tailles douces, des plus curieuses, représentant les plus belles vues de ces Païs; leurs principales Villes; les differens habillemens des Peuples, qui habitent ces Regions éloignées; les Animaux, les Oiseaux, les Poissons & les Plantes extraordinaires, qui s'y trouvent. Avec les Antiquitez de ces Païs, & particulièrement celles du Fameux Palais de Persepolis. Que les Perses appellent Chelminar. Le tout dessiné d'après Nature sur les Lieux. On y a ajouté la route qu'a suivie Mr. Isbrants, Ambassadeur de Moscovie, en traversant la Russie & la Tartarie, pour se rendre à la Chine. Et quelques Remarques contre Mrs. Chardin & Kempfer. Avec une Lettre écrite à l'Auteur, sur ce sujet. 2 vols. Amsterdam: chez les Freres Wetstein, 1718.

. Travels into Muscovy, Persia, and Part of the East-Indies. Containing An Accurate Description of whatever is most remarkable in those Countries. And Embellished with above 320 Copper Plates, representing the finest Prospects, and most considerable Cities in those Parts; the different Habits of the People; the singular and extraordinary Birds, Fishes, and Plants which are there to be found: As likewise the Antiquities of those Countries, and particularly the noble Ruins of the famous Palace of Persepolis, called Chelminar by the Persians. The whole being delineated on the Spot, from the respective objects. To which is added, An Account of the Journey of Mr. Isbrant's, Ambassador from Muscovy, through Russia and Tartary to China; together with Remarks on the Travels of Sir John Chardin, and Mr. Kempfer, and a letter written to the Author on that Subject. In Two Volumes. By M. Cornelius Le Bruyn. Translated from the Original French. London: Printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, S. Birt, C. Davis, J. Clarke, S. Harding, D. Browne, A. Millar, J. Schuckburgh, and T. Osborne, 1737.

. A New and More Correct Translation Than has hitherto appeared in Public, of Mr. Cornelius Le Brun's Travels Into Muscovy, Persia, and Divers Parts of the East Indies; containing An Accurate Description of all such Articles as are most remarkable in each of these different countries, and most worthy the Attention of the Curious Reader. As Also of their Antiquities; but more particularly those relating to the famous Palace of Persepolis, commonly called Chelimar by the Persans: By a Gentleman of Oxford, Adorned with a large number of Copper Plates. London: Printed for J. Warcus, at the Bible, the corner of Rackett-Court, in Fleet-Street, 1759.

Butler, David. "Two Narratives of the Taking of Astracan by the Cossacks." In Struys. The Voyages and Travels.

Coverté, Captain Robert. A True and Almost Incredible Report of an Englishman, that (being cast away in the good Ship called the Ascension in Cambaya, the farthest Part of the East-Indies) Travelled by Land through many unknown Kingdoms, and great Cities. With a particular Description of all those Kingdoms, Cities, and People. As also A Relation of their Commodities and manner of Traffique, and at what

seasons of the yeere they are most in vse. Faithfully related. With A Discovery Of A Great Emperour called the Great Mogoll, a Prince not till now knowne to our English Nation. London: Printed by William Hall, for Thomas Archer and Richard Redmer, 1612. Repr. in Osborne. Collection, II, pp. 237-266.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Travels of Captain Robert Coverte. Boies Penrose, ed. Philadelphia: Privately Printed [by the William F. Fall Co., Printers] for Mr. Boies Penrose, 1931.

Cubero, Pedro Sebastiano. Peregrinacion del Mundo del Doctor D. Pedro Cubero Sebastiano, Predicador Apostolico. Naples: Por Carlos Porsile, 1682.

\_\_\_\_\_. Peregrinazione del Mondo del Dottor Don Pietro Cubero Sebastiano, Predicatore Apostolico. Signor D. Francesco de la Serna, y Molina, trans. Naples: Per Carol Porsile, 1683.

\_\_\_\_\_. Descripcion General del Mvndo y Notables Svcessos Que Han Svedido en el. Con la Armonia de Sus Tiempos, Ritos, Ceremonias, Costumbres, y Trages de sus Naciones, & Varones Illustres que en el ha avido. Valencia: Por Vincente Cabrera, 1697.

\_\_\_\_\_. Epitome de los Arduos Viages que ha hecho el Doctor Don Pedro Cubero Sebastian, Presbytero, Missionario Apostolico, y Confessor General de los Exercitos Christianos en las quatro partes del mundo, Asia, Africa, America, y Europa. Con las cosas mas memorables, que ha podido inquirir. Escrito por el mismo, quien lo dedico, y consagra al M. Ilustre Sr. Don Raymondo de Saldivar. Conde de Sauzedilla, Cavallero del Orden de Alcantara &c. Cadiz: en la Imprinta de Christoval de Requena, 1700.

Della Valle, Pietro. Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle Il Pellegrino Con minuto nagguglio Di tutte le cose notabili osservate in essi, Descritti de lui medesimo in 54 Lettere familiari, Da diuersi luoghi della intrapresa peregrinatione, Mandate in Napoli All'erudito, e fra' più cari, di molti anni suo Amico Mario Schipano, Diuisi in tre parti, cioè La Turchia, La Persia, E L'India, Lequali Laurant per Aggiunta, Se Dio gli darà vita, la quarta Parte, Che conterrà le figure di molte cose memorabili, Sparse pea tutta l'Opera, e la loro esplicatione. 4 vols. Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1650-1663.

\_\_\_\_\_. I Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle: Lettere dalla Persia I. F. Gaeta and L. Lockhart, eds. Il Nuovo Ramusio VI. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1972.

\_\_\_\_\_. Les Fameux Voyages de Pietro Della Valle, Gentil-homme romain, surnommé l'illustre voyageur; avec un denombrement tres-exact des choses les plus curieuses, & les plus remarquables qu'il a veuës dans la Turquie, l'Egypte, la Palestine, la Perse, & les Indes Orientales, & que les Autheurs qui en ont cy deuant écrit, n'ont iamais

obseruées; Le tout écrit en forme de Lettres, adressées au Sieur Schipano son plus intime Amy. 4 pts. Paris: Chez Gervais Clouzier, 1663-1665.

. The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, A Noble Roman, into East-India and Arabia Deserta. In which, the several Countries, together with the Customs, Manners, Traffique, and Rites both Religious and Civil, of those Oriental Princes and Nations, are faithfully Described: In Familiar Letters to his Friend Signior Mario Schipano. Whereunto is Added a Relation of Sir Thomas Roe's Voyage into the East-Indies. London: Printed by J. Macock, for John Martin, and James Allestry, 1665.

. The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India. From the Old English Translation of 1664, by G. Havers. Edward Grey, ed. 2 vols. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1892.

Fabritius, Ludwig. "Memoirs." German text and Russian translation in A. G. Man'kov. Zapiski inostrantsev o vosstanii Stepana Razina [Foreign Memoirs on the Rebellion of Stepan Razin]. Leningrad: 1968, pp. 14-83.

Fryer, John, M.D. A New Account of East-India and Persia, in Eight Letters. Being Nine Years Travels, Begun 1672, And Finished 1681. Containing Observations made of the Moral, Natural and Artificial Estate of Those Countries: Namely, Of their Government, Religion, Laws, Customs. Of the Soil, Climates, Seasons, Health, Diseases. Of the Animals, Vegetables, Minerals, Jewels. Of their Housing, Cloathing, Manufactures, Trades, Commodities. And of the Coins, Weights, and Measures, used in the Principal Places of Trade in those Parts. London: for Rl. Chiswell, 1698.

. A New Account of East India and Persia, being Nine Years' Travels, 1672-1681. William Crooke, ed. 3 vols. London: for the Hakluyt Society, 1909-1915.

Gaspar de S. Bernardino. Itinerário da Índia por Terra até à Ilha de Chipre. Augusto Reis Machado, ed. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1953.

Godinho, Manuel, S.J. Relação do novo caminho que fez par Terra, e Mar, Vindo da India para Portugal no anno de 1663. O padre Manoel Godinho da Companhia de Iesu: Enviado a magestade Delrey N.S. Dom Afonso VJ. Pello seu Visorey Antonio de Mello de Castro, & Estado da India - A Luis de Vasconcellos e Sousa Conde de Castel-melhor, dos Conselhos de Estado, & Guerra de Sua Magestade, seu Escrivaada Puridade, &c. Lisbon: Henrique Valente de Oliveira, 1665.

. Relação do Novo Caminho que Fêz por Terra e Mar Vindo da Índia para Portugal, no ano de 1663. Introduction by Augusto Reis Machado. [3rd ed.] [Lisbon:] Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1944.

Gouvea, Antonio de. Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo De Menezes Primaz Da India Oriental, Religioso do Malauar, & lugares em que morão os antigos Christãos de S Thome, & os tirou de muytos erros & heregias em que estauão, & reduzio à nossa Sancta Fè Catholica, & obediencia da Santa Igreja Romana, da quel passaua de mil annos que estauão apartados. Recopilada de diuersos tratados de pessoas de autoridade, que a tudo forão presentes, Por Frey Antonio de Gouvea Religioso da Mesma Ordem de Santo Agostinho, lente de Theologia, & Prior do Conuento de Goa. Dose noticia de muytas causas notauais da India, de que a não auia tao clara. Coimbra: Diogo Gomez Loureiro, 1606.

---

. Relaçam em que se tratam as guerras e grandes Victorias que Alcançou grãde Rey da Persia Xá Abbas do grão Turco Mahometto, & seu filho Amethe: as quais resultarão das Embaixadas, q por mandado da Catholica & Real Magestade del Rey D. Felipe segundo de Portugal fizeraõ algũs Religiosos da ordem dos Eremitas de S. Augustinho a Persia. Lisbon: Impresso por Pedro Crasbeeck, 1611.

---

. Relation des grandes guerres et victoires obtenues par le roy de Perse Cha Abbas contre les empereurs de Turquie Mahomet et Achmet son fils. En suite du voyage de quelques Religieux de l'Ordre des Hermites de S. Augustin enuoyez en Perse par le Roy Catholique Dom Philippe Second Roy de Portugal. Rouen: chez Nicolas Loysset, 1646.

Hedges, William. The Diary of William Hedges, Esq. (afterwards Sir William Hedges). During his Agency in Bengal; as well as on his voyage out and return overland (1681-1687). R. Barlow and Col. Henry Yule, eds. 3 vols. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1887-1889.

Herbert, Sir Thomas. Some Years TRAVELS into Parts of Africa and Asia the Great. Describing more particularly the Empires of Persia and Indostan: Interwoven with such remarkable Occurrences as hapned in those parts during these later Times. As also, many other rich and Famous Kingdoms in the Oriental India, with the Isles adjacent. Severally relating their Religion, Language, Customs and Habit. As also proper Observations concerning them. In this Fourth Impression are added (by the Author now living) as well many Additions throughout the whole Work, as also several Sculptures, never before printed. London: Printed by R. Everingham, for R. Scot, T. Basset, J. Wright, and R. Chiswell, 1677.

---

. Thomas Herbert -- Travels in Persia, 1627-1629. Sir William Foster, ed. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1929.

Hobbs, Giles. "Giles Hobbs his travaille from Musco to Spahan, written in a letter by himselfe to the East Indian Companie." Purchas His Pilgrimes Part I, Book V, ch. 16 [1905 edn. V, 257-262].

Kaempfer, Engelbert. Amoenitatum Exoticarum Politico-Physico-Medicarum Fasciculi V, Quibus continentur Variæ Relationes, Observationes & Descriptiones Rerum Persicarum & Ulterioris Asiae, multa attentione, in peregrinationibus per universum Orientum, collectae, ab auctore.

Lengow: Henrici Wilhelmi Meyeri, 1712.

. Am Hofe Des Persischen Grosskñnigs (1684-85): Das Erste Buch der Amoenitates Exoticae. Walther Hinz, ed. Leipzig: K. F. Koehler Verlag, 1940.

Krusinski, Tadeusz Juda, S.J. Histoire de la Dernière Revolution de Perse. J. A. du Cerceau, S.J., ed. 2 vols. Paris: 1728.

. The History of the Late Revolutions of Persia: Taken from the Memoirs of Father Krusinski, Procurator of the Jesuits at Ispahan; who lived Twenty Years in that Country, was employed by the Bishop of Ispahan, in his Negotiations at the Persian Court, for the Emperor and King of France; and was familiarly conversant with the greatest Men of all Parties. Done into English, from the Original lately published with the Royal License at Paris, by Father Du Cerceau, who has prefix'd a Map of Persia, and a short History of the Sophies; with various Remarks on the Accounts given by Tavernier, Sir John Chardin, and other writers that have treated particularly of that Government and Country, &c. To which is added, an Appendix, Giving an Authentic Account of the Dethroning of Sophi Thomas, by his General Thomas Kouli Kan; the Advancement of that General to the Imperial Dignity, and his many victories over the Turk, and Moguls, down to the present Year 1740. 2nd edn. 2 vols. London: J. Osborne, 1740. 1st edn. London: 1728.

Mainwaring, George. "A True Discourse of Sir Anthony Sherley's Travel into Persia. What Accidents did happen in the way, both going thither and returning back, with the business he was employed in from the Sophi." In Sir E. Denison Ross, ed. Sir Anthony Sherley and His Persian Adventure, pp. 175-226.

Manrique, Fray Sebastien. Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique, 1629-1643: A Translation of the Itinerario de las Misiones Orientales. Lt. Col. C. Eckford Luard and H. Hosten, S.J., eds. 2 vols. Oxford: The Hakluyt Society, 1927.

Monfart, Henri de Feynes de. Voyage fait par terre depuis Paris Jusques a la Chine. Par le Sr. de Feynes gentilhomme de la maison du Roy. Et ordre de Marechal de Camp de ses armées. Avec son retour par mer. Paris: Chez Pierre Rocolet, 1630.

. AN EXACT AND CVRIOVS SURVEY of all the East Indies, euen to Canton, the chiefe Cittie of China: All duly performed by land, by Monsieur de Monfart, the like whereof was neuer hetherto, brought to an end. VWherein also are described the huge Dominions of the great Mogor, to whom that honorable Knight, Sir Thomas Roe, was lately sent Ambassador from the King. London: Printed by Thomas Dawson, for William Arondell, 1615.

. An Exact and Cvriovs Srvey of the East Indies, euen to Car the chiefe Citie of China: All duly performed by land, by Mons



de Monfart, the like whereof was neuer hetherto, brought to an end. Wherein also are described the huge Dominions of the great Mogor, to whom that honorable Knight, Sir Thomas Roe, was lately sent Ambassador from the King. London: Printed by Thomas Dawson, for William Arondell, 1615. In John Lord Somers. A Third Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts, on the most Interesting and Entertaining Subjects: But chiefly by such as relate to the History and Constitution of these Kingdoms. Selected from an Infinite Number in Print and Manuscript, in the Royal, Cotton, Sign, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries; Particularly that of the late Lord Somers. Revised by Eminent Hands. Vol. I. London: Printed for F. Cogan, 1751, pp. 163-184.

Olearius, Adam. Muskowitische oft begehrte Beschreibung der neuen orientalischen Reise an der König von Persien. Sleswick: 1647.

. Die erste deutsche Expedition nach Persien (1635-1639). Dr. Hermann von Staden, ed. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1927.

. The Voyages & Travels of the AMBASSADORS from the Duke of Holstein, to the Great Duke of Muscovy, and the King of PERSIA. Begun in the year M.DC.XXXIII. and finish'd in M.DC.XXXIX. Containing a compleat History of Muscovy, Tartary, PERSIA, and other adjacent Countries. With several Publick Transactions reaching near the Present Times. Illustrated with diverse accurate Mapps and Figures. John Davies of Kidwelly, trans. London: for Thomas Dring, and John Starkey, 1662.

. The Travels of Olearius in Seventeenth-Century Russia. Samuel H. Baron, trans. and ed. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1967.

Pacifique de Prouins, Predicateur Capucin. Relation du Voyage de Perse, fait par Le R. P. Pacifique de Prouins Predicateur Capucin. Ou vous verrez les remarques particulieres de la Terre sainte, & des lieux où se sont operez plusieurs Miracles depuis la Creation du monde, iusques à la mort & Passion de nostre Seigneur Iesus-Christ. Aussi le commandement du Grand Seigneur Sultan Murat, pour establir des Conuents de Capucins par tous les lieux de son Empire. Ensemble le bon traitement que le Roy de Perse fit au R. P. Pacifique, luy donnant vn sien Palais pour sa demeure, avec permission aussi de bastir des Monasteres par tout son Royaume; Et finalement la lettre & present qu'il luy donna pour apporter au Roy Tres-Chrestien de France & de Nauarre Louys XIII. Avec le testament de Mahomet que les Turcs appellent sa main & signature qu'il fit auant que de mourir. Paris: Chez Nicolas & Iean de la Coste, freres, 1631.

. Lettre du Pere Pacifique de Provin, Predicateur Capucin, estant de present à Constantinople, enuoyer au R. P. Ioseph le Clerc, Predicateur du mesme ordre, & Deffiniteur de leur Prouince de Tours. Sur l'estrange mort du grand Turc, Emperor de Constantinople. Paris: François Huby, 1622.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Trois lettres du P. Pacifique de Provins, capucin, initiateur des missions des capucins français en Orient et aux Antilles; suivi d'une lettre du P. Archange des Fossés, premier vice-préfet de la Mission des PP. Capucins de France à Constantinople. Réimprimées par les soins du P. Apollinaire de Valence, religieux du même ordre, et précédées d'un essai biographique et bibliographique sur le P. Pacifique de Provins et ses compagnons. Rome: Archives générales de l'ordre des capucins, 1890.
- Parry, William. A new and large discourse of the Trauels of sir Anthony Sherley Knight, by Sea and ouer Land, to the Persian EMPIRE. Wherein are related many straunge and wonderfull accidents: and also the Description and conditions of those Countreies and People he passed by: with his returne into Christendome. London: Printed by Valentine Simmes for Felix Norton, 1601.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A New and Large Discourse on the Trauels of Sir Anthony Sherley, Knight, by Sea, and Over Land, to the Persian Empire." In Sir E. Denison Ross, ed. Sir Anthony Sherley and His Persian Adventure, pp. 98-136.
- Pinçon, Abel. Relation d'un voyage de Perse faict es annees 1598. & 1599. par vn gentil-homme de la suite du Seigneur Seierley Ambassadeur du Roy d'Angleterre. In Morisot, Claude Barthélemy, ed. Relations veritables et curieuses de l'isle de Madagascar, et du Bresil. Avec l'histoire de la derniere Guerre faite au Bresil, entre les Portugais & les Hollandois. Trois relations d'Egypte, et vne du Royaume de Perse. Paris: chez Augustin Courbé, 1651.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Relation of a Journey taken to Persia in the Years 1598-1599 by a Gentleman in the Suite of Sir Anthony Sherley, Ambassador from the Queen of England." In Ross, Sir E. Denison, ed. and trans. Sir Anthony Sherley and His Persian Adventure, pp. 137-174.
- Raphael du Mans. Estat de la Perse en 1660. Charles Schefer, ed. Publications de l'école des langues orientales vivantes, 2nd series, XX. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1890; repr. Westmead, England: Gregg International Publishers, 1969.
- Salbancke, Joseph. "The Voyage of M. Joseph through India, Persia, part of Turkie, the Persian-Gulfe, and Arabia, 1609. Written unto Sir Thomas Smith." In Purchas, III, 82-89.
- Sanson. Voyage ou Relation de l'Etat Présent du Royaume de Perse. Avec une dissertation curieuse sur les Mocurs, Religion et Gouvernement de cet Etat. Paris: 1694.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Present State of Persia: With a Faithful Account of the Manners, Religion, and Government of that People. John Savage, trans. London: for M. Gilliflower, J. Tonson, and H. Bonwick, 1695.

Sherley, Sir Anthony. Sir Antony Sherley His Relation Of His Travels Into Persia. The Dangers, And Distresses, which befell him in his passage, both by sea and land, and his strange and v unexpected deliverances. His Magnificent Entertainment in Persia, his Honourable imployment there-hence, as Embassadour to the Princes of Christendome, the cause of his disapointment therein, with his aduice to his brother, Sir Robert Sherley, Also A True Relation Of The great Magnificence, Valour, Prudence, Iustice, Temperance, and other manifold Vertues of Abas, now King of Persia, with his great Conquests, whereby he hath enlarged his Dominions. Penned by Sr. Antony Sherley, and recommended to his brother, Sr. Robert Sherley, being now in prosecution of the like Honourable Imployment. London: Printed for Nathaniell Butter, and Ioseph Bagfet, 1613.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A briefe Compendium of the Historie of Sir Anthony Sherleys Travels into Persia: And employed thence Ambassadour to the Christian Princes; penned by himselfe, and recommended to his Brother Sir Robert Sherley, since that sent on like Ambassage by the King of Persia." In Purchas, VIII, pp. 375-441.

Silva y Figueroa, D. Garcia de. Comentarios de D. Garcia de Silva y Figueroa de la Embajada que de parte del Rey de España Don Felipe III hizo al Rey Xa Abas de Persia. D. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, ed. 2 vols. Madrid: La Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1903-1905.

\_\_\_\_\_. L'Ambassade de D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa en Perse, contenant la politique de ce grand empire, les moeurs du Roy Schach Abbas, & vne Relation exacte de tous les lieux de Perse & des Indes, où cet Ambassadeur a esté l'espace de huit années qu'il y a demeuré. M. De Wicqfort, trans. Paris: Chez Iean Du Puis, 1667.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Letter from Don Garcia Silva Figueroa Ambassador from Philip the Third King of Spaine to the Persians, written at Spahan, or Hispahan, Anno 1619. to the Marquesse of Bedmar, touching matters of Persia." In Purchas, IX, pp. 190-196.

Steel, Richard and John Crowther. "A Journall of the Journey of Richard Steel and John Crowther, from Azmere in India, the place of the Great Mogols residence, to Spahan the Royall Seat of the King of Persia, in the affaires of the East-Indian Society. Ann. 1615.1616." In Purchas, IV, pp. 266-280.

Teixeira, Pedro. The Travels of Pedro Teixeira; with his "Kings of Harmuz," and extracts from his "Kings of Persia." William F. Sinclair, trans. and ed. and Donald Ferguson, ed. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1902.

Thevenot, Jean de. Voyages de Mr de Thevenot en Europe, Asie, et Afrique divisez en 3 parties. 3rd edn. 3 pts. in 5 vols. Amsterdam: M. C. Le Cène, 1727.

- \_\_\_\_\_. The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant. In Three Parts. Viz. Into I. Turkey. II. Persia. III. The East Indies. Newly done out of French [by A. Lovell]. London: Printed by H. Clark, for H. Faithorne, J. Adamson, C. Skegnes and T. Newborough, 1687.
- \_\_\_\_\_. L'empire du grand turc vu par un sujet de Louis XIV, Jean Thévenot. Introd. by François Billacois. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1965.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Indian Travels." In S. Senn, ed. Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri.

#### Other Primary Sources

- Abraham Erevanc'i. Patmut'iwn Paterazmac'n, 1721-1736 t' [History of the Wars, 1721-1736]. Erevan: 1938.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Istoriya Voĭn, 1721-1736 gg [History of the Wars, 1721-1736]. Erevan: 1939.
- Abraham Kretac'i. Patmut'iwn [History]. Erevan: 1973.
- Abrahamyan, H., ed. Kalvacagrēr [Cadastres]. Erevan: 1941.
- Afonso, Mestre. "Itinerário." In Baião, António, ed. Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por terra. Coimbra: Imprensa de Universidade, 1923.
- Agat'angežos. Patmut'iwn [History]. Venice: 1862.
- Allen, W. E. D. and Anthony Mango, eds. and trans. Russian Embassies to the Georgian Kings (1589-1605). 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, for the Hakluyt Society, 1970.
- Anon. Ašxarhac'oyc' [World Atlas]. Venice: 1881.
- Anon. A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries. 2 vols. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1939.
- Aṛ 'el Davrižec'i. Girk' av'patmut'eanc' [Book of Histories]. Vağarsapat: 1896.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Kniga Istarii [Book of Histories]. L. A. Xanlaryan, trans. Moscow: 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Livre d'histoires. In Brosset, Collection, I, pp. 267-608.
- Baião, António, ed. Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por terra: I. Itinerário de António Tenreiro, sexta edição, conforme a segunda, de 1565. II. Itinerário de Mestre Afonso, reedição conforme o manuscrito da Torre do Tombo. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1923.

- Bedik, Petrus. سهريل سوتن CEHIL SVITVN, Seu Explicatio utriusque celeberrimi ac pretiosissimi Theatri Quadraginta Columnarum in Pervide Orientis, Cum adjecta fusiori narratione de Religione, moribusque Persarum, & earundem vivendi modo, populis vicinis, alijsq; de hac Orientali Natione famosissima scitu dignis. Augustissimo, ac Invictissimo LEOPOLDO PRIMO, Romanorum Imperatori, Germaniae, Hungariae, Bohem. Regi, &c. Domino Domine Clementissimo ab Authore Eiusdem Sacratissimae Majestatis humillimo atq; perpetua servo & cliente, pro tunc ad limina Aulae Augustiss: degente, PETRO BEDIK. Nobili Pers-Armeno, olim Venerabilis Collegij Urbani VIII de propaganda fide in literaturis Artium, & SS. Theol. Alumno, exinde vero per plures annos gravissimorum pro Christianitate Orientis negotiorum fideli Zelatore Dicata, & Consecrata. DVM FELIX aVstriae prInCeps natVs. Vienna: typis Leopoldi Voigt, Universitatis Typogr., 1695.
- Benjamin of Tudela. The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela. Critical text, translation and commentary by Marcus Nathan Adler. London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1907; repr. New York: Philip Feldheim, 1964.
- Brosset, M. I., trans. Collection d'historiens arméniens. 2 vols. St. Petersburg: 1874-1876.
- Bryce, James. Transcaucasia and Ararat: Being Notes of a Vacation Tour in the Autumn of 1876. 3rd edn. London: MacMillan and Co., 1878.
- Butkov, P. G. Materialy dlya Novoĭ Istorii Kavkaza, s'' 1722 po 1803 god'' [Materials for a New History of the Caucasus, from 1722 to 1803]. 3 vols. St. Petersburg: 1869.
- Carayon, Auguste, S.J., ed. Relations inédites des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus à Constantinople et dans le Levant au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Poitiers: Henri Dudin; Paris: Ch. Douniol, 1864.
- Carré, The Abbé. The Travels of the Abbé Carré in India and the Near East, 1672-1674. Lady Fawcett, trans., Sir Charles Fawcett, with Sir Richard Burn, eds. 3 vols. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1947-1948.
- Carruthers, Douglas, ed. The Desert Route to India Being the Journals of Four Travellers by the Great Desert Caravan Route between Aleppo and Basra, 1745-1751. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1929.
- Cholet, Le Comte de. Arménie, Kurdistan et Mésopotamie: Voyage en Turquie d'Asie. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1892.
- Clavijo, Ruy Gonzalez de. Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6. Clements R. Markham, ed. and trans. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1859.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403-1406. Guy LeStrange, ed. and trans. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1928.

- Collier, J. Payne, ed. Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature. 2 vols. London: 1863; repr. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1966.
- Cook, John, M.D. Voyages and Travels through the Russian Empire, Tartary, and Part of the Kingdom of Persia. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Printed for the Author, 1770.
- Cross, Anthony, ed. Russia Under Western Eyes, 1517-1825. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971.
- Curzon, Robert. Armenia: A Year at Erzerum, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia. London: John Murray, 1954.
- "Don Juan" of Persia. Don Juan of Persia, A Shi'ah Catholic, 1560-1604. G. Le Strange, ed. and trans. New York and London: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1926.
- DuBois de Montpéroux, Frédéric. Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les tcherkasses et les abkhazes, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée, avec un atlas géographique, pittoresque, archéologique, géologique, etc. 4 vols. Paris: Librairie de Gide, 1839.
- Evlia Çelebi. Seyahatname [Book of Travels]. 10 vols. Istanbul: 1314 [1896]-1938.
- Evlia Efendi. Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the Seventeenth Century. Joseph von Hammer[-Purgstall], trans. and ed. London: Printed for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1834.
- Ezov, G. A., ed. Snošeniya Petra Velikago s'' Armyanskim'' Narodom'' [The Relations of Peter the Great with the Armenian People]. St. Petersburg: 1898.
- Federici, Cesare. Viaggio di M. Cesare de i Fedrici, nell'India orientale, et oltra l'India: Nelquale si contengono cose diletteuoli dei riti, & de i costumi di quei presi, Et insieme si descriuono le spetiariie, droghe, gioie, & perle, che d'essi si cauano. Con alcuni auertimenti vtilissimi a quelli, che tal viaggio volessero fare. Venice: Appresso Andrea Muschio, 1587.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Voyage and Trauaile: of M. Caesar Frederick, Merchant of Venice, into the East India, the Indies, and beyond the Indies. Wherein are contained very pleasant and rare matters, with the customs and rites of those Countreies. Also, heerein are discovered the Merchandises and commodities of those Countreies, aswell the aboundance of Goulde and Siluer, as Spices, Drugges, Pearles, and other Iewelles. Written at Sea in the Hercules of London: coming from Turkie, the 25. of March, 1588, For the profitable instruction of Merchants and all other travellers, for their better direction and knowledge of those Countreies. T. H. [Thomas Hickock], trans. London: Printed by Richard Jones and Edward White, 18 Iunij 1588.

[Ferrières-Sauveboeuf, Le Comte de]. Memoires historiques, politiques et géographiques des voyages du Comte de Ferrières-Sauveboeuf, faits en Turquie, en Perse et en Arabie, depuis 1782, jusqu'en 1789; avec ses observations sur la religion, les moeurs, le caractère & le commerce de ces trois nations; suivies de détails très-exacts sur la guerre des turcs avec les deux Cours Impériales, d'Autriche et de Russie; les dispositions des trois Armées, et les résultats de leurs Campagnes. 2 vols. in 1. Paris: Chez Buisson, 1790.

[Fleuriau (de Armenonville), Thomas Charles]. Estat present de l'Armenie, tant pour le temporel que pour le Spirituel. Avec une Description du Pays & des moeurs de ceux qui l'habitent. Paris: chez La Veuve de Jacques Langlois et Jacques Langlois, 1694.

\_\_\_\_\_. Nouveaux memoires des missions de la compagnie de Jésus, dans le Levant. 8 vols. Paris: Chez Nicolas Le Clerc, 1715-1745.

Foster, William, ed. Early Travels in India, 1583-1619. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1921; repr. Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1968.

Freshfield, Douglas W. The Exploration of the Caucasus. Illustrations by Vittorio Sella. 2 vols. London and New York: Edward Arnold, 1896.

\_\_\_\_\_. Travels in the Central Caucasus and Bashan, including Visits to Ararat and Tabreez and Ascents of Kazbek and Elbruz. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1869.

Gilanentz, Petros di Sarkis. The Chronicle of Petros di Sarkis Gilanentz concerning the Afghan Invasion of Persia in 1722, the Siege of Isfahan and the Repercussions in Northern Persia, Russia and Turkey. Caro O. Minasian, trans. Lisbon: Gulbenkian Foundation, 1959.

[Godreau, Abbé Martin]. Relation d'une mission faite nouvellement par Monseigneur l'Archevesque d'Ancyre a Ispaham en Perse pour la reunion des armeniens a l'eglise catholique. Paris: chez Jean de Nully, 1702.

\_\_\_\_\_. Relation du voyage de l'Archevesque d'Ancyre, envoyé légat du Pape et Ambassadeur extraordinaire de Sa Majesté Impériale, vers le Grand Sophy de Perse: où l'on verra de quelle manière ce légat du Saint-Siège a esté reçu dans le Royaume de Perse, et son entrée dans Ispaham, ville capitale de Perse. In Rafael du Mans. Estat de la Perse. Ch. Schefer, ed. Doc. L, pp. 373-376.

Gollancz, Sir Hermann, ed. and trans. Chronicle of Events between the Years 1623 and 1733 relating to the Settlement of the Order of Carmelites in Mesopotamia (Bassora): A Contribution to the History of Christian Missions in the East, written by Agathangelus of St. Theresia and others. Now edited for the first time with translation and notes from a unique (autograph) ms. in the possession of the author. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1927.

Grelot, Guillaume. Relation Nouvelle d'un Voyage de Constantinople. Enrichie de Plans levez par l'Auteur sur les lieux, & des Figures de tout ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans cette Ville. Paris: En la Boutique de Pierre Rocolet. Chez la veuve de Damien Foucault, 1680.

---

. A Late Voyage to Constantinople: Containing An exact Description of the Propontis and Hellespont, with the Dardanelis, and what else is remarkable in those Seas; As also of the City of Constantinople, Wherein is particularly describ'd the Grand Seraglio and chief Mosques. Likewise An Account of the Ancient and present State of the Greek Church; With The Religion and Manner of Worship of the Turks, their Ecclesiastical Government, their Courts of Justice, and civil Employments. Illustrated with curious and exact Draughts of the Hellespont, Propontis, Constantinople, the Seraglio, Sancta Sophia, and other chief Mosques, with the several Postures of the Turks during Prayer-time; in Fourteen Copper-Plates. The Exactness whereof is attested by several famous Travellers. The like never done before. Made English by J. Philips. London: Printed by John Playford, and are to be sold by Henry Bonwicke, 1683.

Grigor Daranaġ'ci. Žamanakagrut'iwu [Chronography]. Jerusalem: 1915.

Hakobyan, V., ed. Manr Žamanakagrut'yunner XIII-XVII dd. [Minor Chronicles of the 13th-17th Centuries]. 2 vols. Erevan: 1951-1956.

Hamilton, William J. Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia; with some Account of their Antiquities and Geology. 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1842.

Hanway, Jonas. An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea: With a Journal of Travels from London through Russia into Persia; and back again through Russia, Germany and Holland. To which are added, The revolutions of Persia during the present century, with the particular history of the great usurper, Nadir Kouli. 4 vols. in 3. London: 1753.

Hills, Denis. My Travels in Turkey. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1964.

Howel, Thomas, M.D. A Journal of the Passage from India, by a route partly unfrequented, through Armenia and Natolia, or Asia Minor, to which are added, Observations and Instructions, for the use of those who intend to travel, either to or from India, by that route. London: Printed for the author, and sold by C. Forster, [1788].

Hurewitz, J. C. Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East -- A Documentary Record: 1535-1914. 2 vols. Princeton, New Jersey and New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1956.



Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325-1354. Translated with revisions and notes from the Arabic text by C. Deffrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti by H. A. R. Gibb. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, for the Hakluyt Society, 1958-1971.

Ioannisyan, A. [Hovhannisyan, A.], ed. Armyano-Russkie Otnošeniya v Pervoĭ Treti XVIII Veka--Sbornik Dokumentov [Armeno-Russian Relations in the First Third of the 18th Century--A Collection of Documents]. 2 pts. Erevan: 1964-1967.

Isidore of Seville. Etymologiarum sive originum. W. M. Lindsay, ed. 2 vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1911-1914.

Jackson, John. Journey from India, towards England, in the year 1797; by a route commonly called over-land, through countries not much frequented, and many of them hitherto unknown to Europeans, particularly between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, through Curdistan, Diarbek, Armenia, and Natolia, in Asia; and through Romalia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, Transylvania, &c. in Europe. London: Printed for T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, Strand, by G. Woodfall, no. 22, Paternoster-Row, 1799.

Jaubert, P. Amédée. Voyage en Arménie et en Perse fait dans les années 1805 et 1806. Paris: chez Pélicier et Neveu, 1821.

Jesuits. Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amérique, avec quelques relations nouvelles des missions, et des notes géographiques et historiques. M. L. Aimé-Martin, ed. 4 vols. Paris: Auguste Desrez, 1838-1843. See volume one for Armenia and Persia.

Jordanus. Mirabilia Descripta--The Wonders of the East. Henry Yule, ed. and trans. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1863.

Josephus. Works. H. St. J. Thackeray, et al, trans. 9 vols. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1926-1965.

Kircher, Athanasius, S. J. Athanasii Kircheri e Soc. Jesu China Monumentis qua Sacris quâ Profanis, nec non variis Naturae & Artis spectaculis, aliarumque rerum memorabilium Argumentis Illustrata, auspiciis Leopoldi Primi Roman. Imper. Semper Augusti Munificentissimi Mecaenatis. Amsterdam: Apud Joannem Janssonium à Waesberge & Elizeum Weyerstraet, 1667.

La Chine d'Athanase Kircher de la Compagnie de Jesus, Illustrée de plusieurs Monuments Tant Sacrés que Profanes, et de quantité de Recherchés de la Nature & de l'Art. A quoy on a adjouté de nouveau les questions curieuses que le Serenissime Grand Duc de Toscane a fait depuis peu au P. Jean Grubere touchant ce grand Empire. Avec un Dictionnaire Chinois & François, lequel est tres-rare, & qui n'a pas encores paru au jour. F. S. Dalquis, trans. Amsterdam: chez Jean Jansson à Waesberge, & les Heritiers d'Elizée Weyerstraet, 1670.

- Kinross, Lord. Within the Taurus: A Journey in Asiatic Turkey. London: John Murray, 1954; repr. 1970.
- Kirakos Virapec'i. "Encyclical." In Babgen Kiwleserian. Patmut' iwn Kat'o'rikosac' Kilikioy [History of the Cilician Kat'o'rikosate]. Antelias, Lebanon: 1939..
- Laet, Ioannes de. Persia seu Regni Persici Status. Variaque Itinera is atque per Persiam: cum Aliquot Iconibus Incolarum. Lugd. Batav.: ex officina Elzeviriana, 1633.
- Lamberti, P. Archange. "Relation de la Colchide ou Mingrelie." In Jean Frédéric Bernard, ed. Recueil de Voyages au Nord, VII, pp. 136-197.
- Le Blanc, Vincent. Les Voyages Fameux Du Sieur Vincent Le Blanc Marseillois, Qu'il a faits depuis l'aage de douze ans iusques à soixante, aux quatre parties du Monde; A Scavoir Aux Indes Orientales & Occidentales, au Perse & Pegu. Aux Royaumes de Fez, de Maroc, & de Guinée, & dans toute l'Afrique interieure, depuis le Cap de bonne Esperance iusques en Alexandrie, par les terres de Monomotapa, du Preste Iean & de l'Egypte. Aux Isles de la Mediterranée, & aux principales Prouinces de l'Europe, &c. Redigez fidellement sur ses Memoires & Registres, tirez de la Bibliotheque de Monsieur De Peiresc Conseiller en Parlement de Prouence, & enrichis de tres-curieuses obseruations. Par Pierre Bergeron, Parisien. Paris: chez Gervais Clousier, 1648.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The World Surveyed: Or, The Famous Voyages & Travailes of Vincent le Blanc, or White, of Marseilles: Who from the Age of Fourteen years, to Threescore and Eighteen, Travelled through most parts of the World. Viz. The East and West Indies, Persia, Pegu, the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, Guinny, and through all Africa. From the Cape of good Hope into Alexandria, by the Territories of Monomotapa, of Preste John and Aegypt, into the Mediterranean Isles, and through the principal Provinces of Europe. Containing a more exact Description of several parts of the World than hath hitherto been done by any other Authour. The whole work enriched, with many Authentick Histories. F[rancis] B[rooke], trans. London: Printed for John Starkey, 1660.
- Leclercq, Jules. Voyage au Mont Ararat. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie., 1892.
- Lithgow, William. The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations of long Nineteene Yeares Travayles from Scotland to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affrica. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1906.
- Longhena, Mario, ed. Viaggi in Persia, India e Giava di Nicolò de' Conti, Girolamo Adorno e Girolamo da Santo Stefano. Milan: Edizioni "Alpes," 1929; repr. Istitutp Editoriale Italiano, 1960.
- Luca, Jean de. "Relation des Tartares, Percopites & Nogaies, des Cir-

cassiens, Mingreliens, et Georgiens." In Jean Frédéric Bernard, ed. Recueil de Voyages au Nord, VII, pp. 89-135.

Lynch, H. F. B. Armenia: Travels and Studies. 2 vols. London: 1901; repr. Beirut: Khayat's, 1965.

Manandyan, H. and H. Ačaryan, eds. Hayoc' Nor Vkanerē [New Armenian Martyrs]. Važaršapat: 1903

Mandeville, Sir John. The Voiage and Trauaile of Syr Iohn Maundevile Knight, Which Treateth of the Way Toward Hierusalem, and of Mar-vayles of Inde with other Ilands and Countryes. London: Humphrey Milford, for Oxford University Press, 1932.

\_\_\_\_\_. Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations. Malcolm Letts, ed. 2 vols. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1953.

\_\_\_\_\_. Mandeville's Travels. M. C. Seymour, ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967.

Melikset'-Bek, L., trans. Vrac'akan azbyurnerē Hayastani ew Hayeri Masin [Georgian Sources concerning Armenia and the Armenians]. Volume III. Erevan: 1955.

Minorsky, V., trans. Hudūd al-'Ālam--'The Regions of the World': A Persian Geography 372 A.H.-982 A.D. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series. London: Luzac & Co., 1937.

\_\_\_\_\_. Tadhkirat al-Mulūk: A Manual of Safavid Administration (circa 1137/1725). E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series. London: Luzac & Co., 1943.

Monkov, A. G., ed. Zapiski inostrantsev o vosstanii Stepana Razina [Foreign memoirs on the rebellion of Stepan Razin]. Leningrad: 1968.

Morgan, E. Delmar, and C. H. Coote, eds. Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia by Anthony Jenkinson and other Gentlemen, with some account of the First Intercourse of the English with Russia and Central Asia by way of the Caspian Sea. 2 vols. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1886.

Morier, James, Esq. A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the years 1808 and 1809; in which is included, some Account of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Mission, under Sir Harford Jones, Bart. K.C.S. to the Court of the King of Persia. London: for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1812.

\_\_\_\_\_. A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, between the years 1810 and 1816. With a Journal of the Voyage by the Brazils and Bombay to the Persian Gulf. Together with an account of the proceedings of His Majesty's Embassy under His Excellency Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart. K.C.S. London: for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1818.

- Müller-Simonis, P[aul] and H[enry] Hyvernat. Relation des missions scientifiques de MM. H. Hyvernat et P. Müller-Simonis (1888-1889) du Caucase au Golfe Persique à travers l'Arménie, le Kurdistan et la Mésopotamie, suivie de notices sur la géographie et l'histoire ancienne de l'Arménie et les inscriptions cunéiformes du Bassin de Van. Washington, D.C.: Université Catholique d'Amérique, 1892.
- Nicolas de Nicolay. "L'Arménie et les arméniens d'après Nicolas de Nicolay." Revue des études arméniennes n.s. V (1968), 445-452.
- Odoric of Pordenone. Travels. In Henry Yule, trans. and ed. Cathay and the Way Thither. Rev. edn. by Henri Cordier. Vol. II.
- Otter, [Johan]. Voyage en Turquie et en Perse. Avec une Relation des expéditions de Tahmas Kouli-Khan. 2 vols. Paris: chez les Freres Guerin, 1748.
- P'ap'azyan, H. D., ed. Matenadarani Parskeren Vaveragrərē. I. Hrovartakner [Persian Documents in the Matenadaran. I. Decrees]. 2 pts. Erevan: 1956-1959.
- Parmalee, Moses Payson. Life Scenes among the Mountains of Ararat. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1868.
- Parsamyan, V. A. Armyano-Russkie Otnośeniya v XVII Veke -- Sbornik Dokumentov [Armeno-Russian Relations in the 17th Century -- A Collection of Documents]. Erevan: 1953.
- Parrot, Johann Friedrich. Reise zum Ararat. 2 vols. Berlin: 1834.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Journey to Ararat. W. D. Colley, trans. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, [1845?]; repr. New York: 1970.
- P'awstos Buzandac'i. Patmut'iwn Hayoc' [History of Armenia]. Venice: 1862.
- Pegolotti, Francesco Balducci. La Pratica della Mercatura. Allan Evans, ed. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America, 1936.
- Pétis de la Croix, F., le père, trans. Histoire du grand Genghizcan premier empereur des anciens moguls et tartares. Divisée en quatre livres. Contenant la Vie de ce Grand Can. Son Elevation. Ses Conquêtes avec l'Histoire abrégée de ses Successeurs qui regnent encore à présent. Les Mœurs, les Coutumes, les Loix des anciens Moguls & Tartares, & la Géographie des vastes Pays de Mogolistan, Turquestan, Capschac, Yugurestan, & de la Tartarie Orientale & Occidentale. Paris: chez la veuve Jambert, 1770.
- Polo, Marco. The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East. Henry Yule, ed. and trans. 2nd edn. 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1875.

- Porter, Sir Robert Ker. Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Baby-lonia, &c. &c. During the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820. With Numerous Engravings of Portraits, Costumes, Antiquities, &c. 2 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821-1822.
- Putnam, Peter, ed. Seven Britons in Imperial Russia, 1698-1812. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1952.
- Rabbath, Antoine, S.J. Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du Christianisme en orient (XVI-XIX siècle). 2 vols. Paris: A Picard et Fils; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1905?-1910.
- Ray, John, comp. A Collection of Curious Travels & Voyages. In Two Tomes. The First containing Dr. Leonhart Rauwolff's Itinerary into the Eastern Countries, as Syria, Palestine, or the Holy Land, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Chaldea, &c. Translated from the High Dutch by Nicholas Staphorst. The second taking in many parts of Greece, Asia minor, Egypt, Arabia Felix and Petraea, Ethiopia, the Red Sea, &c. from the Observations of Mons. Belon, Mr. Vernon, Dr. Spon, Dr. Smith, Dr. Huntingdon, Mr. Greaves, Alpinus, Veslingius, Thevenot's Collections, and others. To which are added, Three Catalogues of such Trees, Shrubs, and Herbs as grow in the Levant. London: Printed for S. Smith and B. Walford, 1693.
- Reitlinger, Gerald. A Tower of Skulls: A Journey through Persia and Turkish Armenia. London: Duckworth, 1932.
- Roe, Sir Thomas. The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619, as narrated in his Journal and Correspondence. William Foster, ed. 2 vols. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1899.
- Rubruck, William of. The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-55, as narrated by himself, with two accounts of the earlier journey of John of Pian de Carpine. William Woodville Rockhill, trans. and ed. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1900.
- Rundall, Thomas, ed. Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West, in search of a passage to Cathay and India, 1496 to 1631. With selections from the early records of the honourable the East India Company and from mss. in the British Museum. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1849.
- Safrastyan, A. X., ed. and trans. Ėvliya Č'elebi. T'urk'akan Akbyurner [Turkish Sources] III. Erevan: 1967.
- Sen, Surendranath, ed. Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri; Being the Third Part of the Travels of M. de Thevenot into the Levant and the Third Part of a Voyage Round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. New Delhi: The National Archives of India, 1949.
- Sherley, Sr. Thomas. Discours of the Turkes. E. Denison Ross, ed. The Royal Historical Society Camden Third Series LII (Camden Miscellany XVI). London: The Royal Historical Society, 1936.

Simeon Erevanc'i. Jambr. Važaršapat: 1873.

\_\_\_\_\_. Džambr. Russian trans. by S. S. Malxasyanc'. Moscow: 1958.

Smith, Eli, and H. G. O. Dwight. Missionary Researches in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas. . . . To which is prefixed, a memoir on the Geography and Ancient History of Armenia, by the Author of "The Modern Traveler." London: George Wightman, 1834.

[Spilman, James]. A Journey through Russia into Persia; by two English Gentlemen, Who went in the Year 1739, From Petersburg, in order to make a Discovery how the Trade from Great Britain might be carried on from Astracan over the Caspian. To which is annex'd, A summary Account of the Rise of the famous Kouli Kan, and his Successes, till he seated himself on the Persian Throne. London: Printed for R. Dodsley at Tully's Head in Pall-Mall; and Sold by T. Cooper, at the Globe in Pater-noster Row, 1742.

Tenreiro, Antonio. "Itinerário." In António Baião, ed. Itinerários da Índia a Portugal por terra. Coimbra: Imprensa de Universidade, 1923.

Terry, Edward. A Voyage to East-India. Wherein Some things are taken notice of in our passage thither, but many more in our abode there, within that rich and most spacious Empire of the Great Mogol. Mix't with some Parallel Observations and inferences upon the storie, to profit as well as delight the Reader. London: Printed by T. W. for J. Martin, and J. Allestrye, 1655.

Tozer, Rev. Henry Fanshawe. Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1881.

Vardan Vardapet. Աշխարհայե [World Atlas]. Haig Bérberian, ed. Paris: 1960.

Vincent of Beauvais. Speculum Historiale. Douai: 1624; repr. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1965. Volume Four of Speculum Quadruplex sive Speculum Maius.

[Weber, Friedrich Christian]. The Present State of RUSSIA. In Two Volumes. Being An Account of the Government of that Country, both Civil and Ecclesiastical; of the CZAR's Forces by Sea and Land, the Regulation of his Finances, the several Methods he made use of to civilize his People and improve the Country, his Transactions with several Eastern Princes, and What Happened most remarkable at his Court, particularly in relation to the late CZAREWITZ, from the Year 1714, to 1720. The whole being the Journal of a Foreign Minister who resided in Russia at that time, with a Description of Petersburg and Cronslot, and Several other Pieces relating to the Affairs of Russia. Translated from the High-Dutch. To which is added a general MAP of the Czar's Dominions, according to the latest Observations. London: Printed for W. Taylor in Pater-noster-Row, W. and

J. Inrys at the West-End of St. Paul's, and J. Osborn in Lombard-street, 1723-1722; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968.

Wilson, Francesca. Muscovy: Russia Through Foreign Eyes, 1553-1900. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1970.

Wright, Thomas, ed. Early Travels in Palestine, comprising the Narratives of Arculf, Willibald, Bernard, Saewulf, Sigurd, Benjamin of Tudela, Sir John Maundeville, De La Brocquière, and Maundrell. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848.

Yule, Col. Sir Henry, trans. and ed., and Henri Cordier, ed. Cathay and the Way Thither, being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China. Rev. edn. 4 vols. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1913-1916; repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1967.

Zak'aria Agulec'i. Oragrut'iwn [Diary]. Erevan: 1938.

Zak'aria K'anak'erc'i. Patmagrut'iwn [History]. 3 vols. Vağaršapat: 1870.

\_\_\_\_\_. Khronika [Chronicle]. M. O. Darbinyan-Melikyan, ed. and trans. Moscow: 1969.

\_\_\_\_\_. Memoire historiques sur les Sofis. See Brosset, Collection, II, pp. 1-154.

Zampi, Père Joseph Marie. "Relation de la Colchide et de la Mingrellie." In Jean Frédéric Bernard, ed. Recueil de Voyages au Nord VII, pp. 198-302.

### III. Secondary Works

Achoube-Amini, Rahmatollah. Le conflit de frontière Irako-Iranien. Paris: Société anonyme des imprimeries Delalain, 1936.

Adams, Percy G. Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962.

Adontz, Nicholas. Armenia in the Period of Justinian: The Political Conditions Based on the Naxarar System. Nina G. Garsoian, ed. and trans. Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1970.

Aktepe, M. Münir. 1720-1724 Osmanlı-İran Mühasebetleri ve Silâhşür Kemânî Mustafa Ağa'nın Revân Fetih-nâmesi [Ottoman-Iranian Relations 1720-1724 and Silâhşür Kemânî Mustafa Ağa's Narrative of the Conquest of Erevan]. İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fak. Yayınları, No. 1585 [İstanbul University Faculty of Literature Publication No. 1585]. İstanbul: 1970.

- Allen, W. E. D. A History of the Georgian People From the Beginning Down to the Russian Conquest in the Nineteenth Century. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1932; repr. 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Sources for G. Delisle's 'Carte des Pays Voisins de la Mer Caspiene' of 1723." Imago Mundi XIII (1956), 137-150.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Two Georgian maps of the first half of the eighteenth century." Imago Mundi X (1953), 99-121.
- \_\_\_\_\_. and Paul Muratoff. Caucasian Battlefields: A History of the Wars on the Turco-Caucasian Border, 1828-1921. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953.
- Anasyan, H. S. XVII Dari Azatagrakan Šaržumnern Arcvmtyan Hayast'anum -- Patmakan Hetazotnt'yun [17th Century Armenian Liberational Movements in Western Armenia -- Historical Investigation]. Erevan: 1961.
- Anderson, M[atthew]. S[mith]. Britain's Discovery of Russia, 1553-1815. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1958.
- Arewšatyan, S. S., et al., eds. Hay Žošovrdi Patmut'yun IV. Hay Žošovurdē Feodalizmi Vayrej'k'i Žamanakašr'janum XIV-XVIII dd [History of the Armenian People IV. The Armenian People in the Period of the Waning of Feudalism in the 14th-18th Centuries]. Erevan: 1972.
- Arpee, Leon. A History of Armenian Christianity from the Beginning to Our Own Time. New York: The Armenian Missionary Association of America, Inc., 1946.
- Arutiunyan, P. T. Osvoboditel'noe Dviženie Armyanskogo Naroda v Pervoi Četverti XVIII Beka [Liberation Movements of the Armenian People in the First Quarter of the 18th Century]. Moscow: 1954.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Bor'ba Armyanskogo i Azerbaidžanskogo Narodov v 20-kh godax XVIII beka za Prisoedinenie k Rossii" ["The Struggle of the Armenian and Azerbaijani Peoples for Union with Russia in the 20's of the 18th Century"]. Učenyje Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya III (1951), 108-138.
- Atkinson, Geoffroy. The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700. New York: Columbia University Press, 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature from 1700 to 1720. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1922.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Les nouveaux horizons de la renaissance française. Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1935; repr. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Les relations de voyages du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et l'évolution des idées: contribution à l'étude de la formation de l'esprit du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Paris: Librairie ancienne Édouard Champion [1924]. Repr. New York: Burt Franklin, 1971.



- \_\_\_\_\_ and Abraham C. Keller. Prelude to the Enlightenment; French Literature 1690-1740. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970.
- Awdalbekian, T. "Sectes arméniennes ignorées du XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles." Revue des études arméniennes, n.s. I (1964), 299-319.
- Baddeley, John F. The Rugged Flanks of the Caucasus. 2 vols. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1940.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus. London: 1908; repr. New York: Russell and Russell, 1969.
- Bagrow, L. "Italians on the Caspian." Imago Mundi, XIII (1956), 3-10.
- Baĭburtyan, V. A. Armyanskaya Koloniya Novoĭ Džul'fy v XVII Veke (Rol' Novoĭ Džul'fy v Irano-Evropeĭskikh Politicheskh i Ekonomicheskikh Svyazyakh) [The Armenian Colony of New Julfa in the 17th Century (The Role of New Julfa in Irano-European Political and Economic Relations)]. Erevan: 1969.
- Baker, J. N. L. A History of Geographical Discovery and Exploration. 2nd edn. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1967.
- Bamboat, Zenobia. Les voyageurs français aux Indes aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Paris: Jouve et Cie, 1933.
- Bates, E. S. Touring in 1600: A Study in the Development of Travel as a Means of Education. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911.
- Baudelot de Dairval [Charles César]. L'utilité des voyages, qui concerne la connoissance des medailles, inscriptions, statues, diex lares, peintures anciennes, et les bas reliefs, pierres precieuses et gravées, cachets, talismans, annenum manuscrits, langues, & autres choses remarquables. Et l'avantage que la recherche de toutes ces Antiquitez procure aux Scavans. Avec un Memoire de quelques Observations generales qu'on peut faire pour ne pas voyager inutilement. 2 vols. Paris: chez Pierre Auboulin, Pierre Lamy, & Charles Clousier, 1693.
- Baudiment, Louis. François Pallu: Principal fondateur de la société des missions étrangères. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et ses fils, 1934.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Un mémoire anonyme sur François Pallu, principal fondateur des missions étrangères. Tours: Imprimerie René et Paul Deslis, 1934.
- Beaver, R. Pierce. "Recent Literature on Overseas Missionary Movements from 1300 to 1800." Cahiers d'histoire mondiale I, 1 (July, 1953), 139-163.

- Bellán, Lucien-Louis. Chah 'Abbas I: Sa vie, son histoire. Les grandes figures de l'orient, III. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1932.
- Berchet, Guglielmo. La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia. Cristoforo Negri, ed. Torino: Tipografia G. B. Paravia e comp., 1865.
- Berthold-Ignace de Sainte-Anne, O.C.D. Histoire de l'établissement de la mission de Perse par les pères carmes-déchaussés (de l'année 1604 à 1612): Extraite des annales de l'ordre et de divers manuscrits. Brussels: Société belge de librairie, [1885].
- Bey, M. Moukbil. La campagne de Perse (1514). Paris: Éditions Berger-Levrault, 1928.
- Bohnstedt, John W. "The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era." Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. LVIII, 9 (1968).
- Blunt, Wilfrid. Pietro's Pilgrimage: A Journey to India and back at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. London: James Barrie, 1953.
- Braaksma, M. H. Travel and Literature: An Attempt at a Literary Appreciation of English Travel-Book about Persia, from the Middle Ages to the Present Day. Groningen: J. B. Walters Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1938.
- Brice, W. C. "Turkish Colonization of Anatolia." Bulletin of the John Rylands Library XXXVIII, 1 (September, 1955), 18-44.
- Brown, Michael J. Itinerant Ambassador: The Life of Sir Thomas Roe. Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1970.
- Brown, Wallace Cable. "The Popularity of English Travel Books about the Near East, 1775-1825." Philological Quarterly XV, 1 (January, 1936), 70-80.
- Burton, John Hill. The Scot Abroad. New edn. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1881.
- Carruthers, Douglas. "The Great Desert Caravan Route, Aleppo to Basra." The Geographical Journal LII, 3 (September, 1918), 157-184, map foll. 204.
- Carswell, John. New Julfa: The Armenian Churches and Other Buildings. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Castonnet des Fosses, H. "La Boullaye Le Gouz: Sa vie et ses voyages." Revue de l'Asie n.s. XXII (May-June 1891), 301-313; n.s. XXIII (July-August 1891), 45-57; (September-October 1891), 183-197; (November-December 1891), 339-352. Repr. separately Angers: Germain et G. Grassin,

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Les relations de la France avec la Perse." Revue de la société de géographie de Tours VI, 7 (August-September 1889), 129-142, 161-176.
- Cawley, Robert Ralston. Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyagers on Elizabethan Literature. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama. New York: 1938; repr. Kraus Reprint Corp., 1966.
- Charanis, Peter. The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire. Lisbon: 1963. See also Byzantinoslavica XXII (1961), 196-240.
- Chaybany, Jeanne. Les voyages en Perse et la pensée française au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Teheran: Imprimerie du Ministère du [sic] l'Information, 1971.
- Chew, Samuel C. The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937.
- Colless, B. C. "The Traders of the Pearl: The Mercantile and Missionary Activities of Persian and Armenian Christians in South East Asia." Abr-Nahrain IX (1969-1970), 17-38, X (1970-1971), 102-121, XI (1971), 1-21, XIII (1972-1973), 115-135.
- Creasy, Edward S. History of the Ottoman Turks: From the Beginning of their Empire to the Present Time; Chiefly founded on von Hammer. New edn. 2 vols. in 1. London: Richard Bently, 1858.
- Crone, G. R. The Discovery of the East. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972.
- Curzon, Hon. George N. Persia and the Persia Question. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1892; repr. Frank Cass, 1966.
- Dannenfeldt, Karl H. Leonhard Rauwolf: Sixteenth-Century Physician, Botanist, and Traveler. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Daškevič, Ya. R. Armjanskije Kolonii na Ukraine v Istočnikax i Literature XV-XIX vekov [Armenian Colonies in the Ukraine in the Sources and Literature of the 15-19th centuries]. Erevan: 1962.
- Davies, David W. Elizabethans Errant: The Strange Fortunes of Sir Thomas Sherley and His Three Sons, As Well in the Dutch Wars as in Moscow, Morocco, Persia, Spain, and the Indies. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Primer of Dutch Seventeenth Century Overseas Trade. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961.

- Davis, Ralph. Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English Traders in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century. London: MacMillan, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Commercial Revolution: English Over-Seas Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. London: The Historical Association, 1967.
- Davison, Roderic H. Turkey. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1968.
- Der Nersessian, Sirarpie. Aght'amar: Church of the Holy Cross. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Dumont, Maurice. "Les voyages en Asie de J.-B. Tavernier 1605-89 et ses 'relations.'" Bulletin de la Société Royale Belge de Géographie. LXI (1937), 46-61, 118-135, 194-210.
- Ebersolt, Jean. "Un Itinéraire de Chypre en Perse d'après le Parisinus 1712." Byzantinische Zeitschrift XV (1906), 223-226.
- Ennis, Lambert. "Anthony Nixon: Jacobean Plagiarist and Hack." The Huntington Library Quarterly III, 4 (July 1940), 377-401.
- Epstein, Mordecai. The English Levant Company: Its Foundation and Its History to 1640. London: George Routledge and Son, Ltd., 1908.
- Ferrand, Gabriel, ed. and trans. Relations de Voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'extrême-orient du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. 2 vols. in 1. Paris: E. Leroux, 1913-1914.
- Ferrier, R. W. "The Agreement of the East India Company with the Armenian Nation, 22nd June 1688." Revue des études arméniennes, n.s. VII (1970), 427-443.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Armenians and the East India Company in Persia in the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Century." The Economic History Review, 2nd series, XXVI, 1 (February 1973), 38-62.
- Foster, Sir William. England's Quest of Eastern Trade. London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1933.
- Frantz, R. W. The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732. New York: Octagon Books, 1968.
- Garsoian, Nina G. "Armenia in the Fourth Century: An Attempt to Re-Define the Concepts 'Armenia' and 'Loyalty'." Revue des études arméniennes n.s. VIII (1971), 341-346.
- George, R. E. Gordon. "The 'Courier de l'orient' of the Abbé Carré." The Geographical Journal LVIII, 2 (August 1921), 133-135.

- Gerini, Col. G. E. "Some Unidentified Toponyms in the Travels of Pedro Teixeira and Tavernier." Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (1904), 719-723.
- Gibb, H. A. R. and Harold Bowen. Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East. Volume I, 2 pts. [all published] London: Oxford University Press, 1950-1957.
- Gray, Louis H. "Un drame anglais de source arménienne." Revue des études arméniennes, V, 1 (1925), 141-145.
- Guglielminetti, Marziano. Viaggiatori del Seicento. Torino: 1967.
- Guillaume, Denys. "L'église arménienne et les théologiens protestants du 16<sup>e</sup> siècle: David Chytraeus, Stephan Gerlach et Salomon Schweigger." Revue des études arméniennes, n.s. I (1964), 253-297.
- Gulbenkian, Roberto. "Philippe de Zagly, Marchand arménien de Julfa, et l'établissement du commerce persan au Courlande en 1696." Revue des études arméniennes, n.s. VII (1970), 361-426.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and H. Bérbérian. "La légende de David de Sassoun d'après deux voyageurs portugais du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle." Revue des études arméniennes, n.s. VIII (1971), 175-188.
- Hachicho, Mohamed Ali. "English Travel Books about the Arab Near East in the Eighteenth Century." Die Welt des Islams, n.s. IX (1964), 1-206.
- Hagen, Toni, et al., eds. Mount Everest. E. Noel Bowman, trans. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Hakobean, T'. X. Erevani Patmut'yunē (1801-1879) [The History of Erevan, 1801-1879]. Erevan: 1959.
- Haig, T. W. "Graves of Europeans in the Armenian Cemetery at Isfahan." Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (July, 1919), 321-352.
- Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph von. Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches. 10 vols. Pest: 1827-1835.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Histoire de l'empire ottoman depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours. J.-J. Hellert, trans. 18 vols. Paris: Bellizard, Barthès, Dufour et Lowell, 1835-1843.
- Hamy, Dr. E. T. "Une lettre inédite du voyageur J.-B. Tavernier (1664)." Journal Asiatique, ser. 10, VII (March-April 1906), 273-280.
- Hasluck, F. A. Christianity and Islam under the Sultans. Margaret M. Hasluck, ed. 2 vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1929.

- Heawood, Edward. A History of Geographical Discovery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1965.
- Hekmat, Mohammad-Ali. Essai sur l'histoire des relations politiques irano-ottomanes de 1722 à 1747. Paris: Les presses modernes, 1937.
- Herold, A. Ferdinand. "Le Nicomède de Corneille et l'Arménie." Revue des études arméniennes, III (1923), 57-61.
- Hewsen, Robert H. "Armenia according to the Aṣṣarhac'oyc'" Revue des études arméniennes, n.s. II (1965), 319-342.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Meliks of Eastern Armenia -- A Preliminary Study." Revue des études arméniennes, n.s. IX (1972), 285-329.
- Hogarth, David G. The Wandering Scholar. London: Oxford University Press, 1925.
- Holt, P. M. "The Study of Arabic Historians in Seventeenth Century England: The Background and the Work of Edward Pococke." Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, XIX, 3 (1957), 444-455.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Ann K.S. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis, eds. The Cambridge History of Islam. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Hoskins, H. L. "The Overland Route to India in the Eighteenth Century." History, IX, 36 (January, 1925), 302-318.
- Hovhannisyan, A. Drvagner Hay Azatagrakan Mtk'i Patmut'yan [Studies in the History of Armenian Liberational Thought]. 2 vols. Erevan: 1957-1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Petros di Sargis Gilanentz--notes biographiques et historiques." Revue des études arméniennes, n.s. I (1964), 217-232.
- Hutchins, John Harold. Jonas Hanway, 1712-1786. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1940.
- Issawi, Charles. The Economic History of Iran, 1800-1914. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Economic History of the Middle East, 1800-1914. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Tabriz-Trabzon Trade, 1830-1900: Rise and Decline of a Route." International Journal of Middle East Studies, I, 1 (January, 1970), 18-27.
- Itzkowitz, Norman. Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972.
- Jayne, R. Everett. Jonas Hanway: Philanthropist, Politician, and Author, 1712-1786. London: The Epworth Press, 1929.
- Jerrold, Walter and Clare. Five Queer Women. London, New York, and Paris:

Brentano's Ltd., 1929.

- Johannissjan, Aschot. Israel Ory und die Armenische Befreiungsidee: Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät (1. Sektion) der K. Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München. Munich: M. Müller & Sohn, 1913.
- Joret, Charles. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Écuyer, Baron d'Aubonne, Chambellan du Grand Electeur, d'après des documents nouveaux et inédits. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1886.
- Kafé, Esther. "Le mythe turc et son declin dans les relations de voyage des européens de la Renaissance." Oriens, XXI-XXII (1968-1969), 159-195.
- Karst, Josef. Historische Grammatik des Kilikisch-Armenischen. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1901.
- Khachikian, Levon. "The Ledger of the Merchant Hovhannes Joughayetsi." Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta VIII, 3 (1966), 153-186.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Le registre d'un marchand arménien en Perse, en Indes et au Tibet (1682-1693)." Annales XXII, 2 (March-April 1967), 231-278.
- Knight, Sir Henry. "Le Courier de l'Orient -- L'Abé Carré." The Times of India Annual (1955), 26-31.
- Koçaş, Sadi. Tarih boyunca Ermeniler ve Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri [The Armenians in the Course of History and Turkish-Armenian Relations]. Ankara: 1967.
- Kolerkiliç, Ekrem. Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Para [Money in the Ottoman Empire]. Ankara: 1958.
- Konovalov, S. "England and Russia: Three Embassies, 1662-5." Oxford Slavonic Papers X (1962), 60-104.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ludvig Fabritius's Account of the Razin Rebellion." Oxford Slavonic Papers VI (1955), 72-101.
- Kuşeva, E. N. Narody Severnogo Kavkaza i Ikh Svyazi s Russiei Vtoraya Polovina XVI-30e gody XVII Veka [The Peoples of the Northern Caucasus and their Ties with Russia from the Second Half of the 16th to the 30's of the Seventeenth Century]. Moscow: 1963.
- La Mamyé-Clairac, Louis-André de. Histoire de Perse, depuis le commencement de ce siècle. Paris: chez Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1750.
- Lach, Donald E. Asia in the Making of Europe. 2 vols. in 3, in progress. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965-1970.

- Lang, David Marshall. The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy, 1658-1832. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957.
- Leo. Hayoc' Patmut'yun [History of Armenia]. Volume III. Erevan: 1969.
- Letts, Malcolm. Sir John Mandeville: The Man and His Book. London: The Batchworth Press, 1949.
- Lewis, Bernard. The Emergence of Modern Turkey. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Some English Travellers in the East." Middle Eastern Studies IV, 3 (April, 1968), 296-315.
- Locke, J. Courtenay, ed. The First Englishman in India: Letters and Narratives of sundry Elizabethans written by themselves. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1930.
- Lockhart, Laurence. The Fall of the Safavī Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Nadir Shah: A Critical Study Based Mainly Upon Contemporary Sources. Foreword by Sir. E. Denison Ross. London: Luzac & Co., 1938.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Diplomatic Missions of Henry Bard, Viscount Bellomont, to Persia and India." Iran IV (1966), 97-104.
- Longrigg, Stephen Hamsley. Four Centuries of Modern Iraq. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1925.
- Maidment, James. The Poetical Remains of William Lithgow, Scottish Traveler. M.DC.XVII-M.DC.LX. Now First Collected. Edinburgh: Thomas George Stevenson, 1863.
- Malo, Henri. "Voyage d'un capuchin français dans le Levant au XVIIIe siècle." Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises V, 2 (1917), 145-168.
- Manandian, H. A. The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade. Nina G. Garsoian, trans. Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1965.
- Mantran, Robert. Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle: Essai d'histoire institutionnelle, économique et sociale. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul, XII. Paris: Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve, 1962.



- Marchand, Leslie A. Byron: A Biography. 3 vols. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957.
- Martineau, Alfred. "Le premier consulat de France à Bassora (1739-1745)." Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises, V, 1 (1917), 5-78; V, 4 (1917), 397-438.
- Martino, Pierre. L'Orient dans la littérature française au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle. Paris: 1906; repr. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970.
- Masson, Paul. Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIIe siècle. Paris: Hachette & Cie, 1896.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIIIe siècle. Paris: Hachette & Cie, 1911.
- Meier-Lemgo, Karl. Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) erforscht das seltsame Asien. Hamburg: Cram, De Gruyter & Co., 1960.
- Meinardus, Otto F. A. The Copts in Jerusalem. Cairo: Commission on Oecumenical Affairs of the See of Alexandria, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Note on the Armenians on the Island of Chios." Handes Am-sorya, LXXXVI, 10-12 (Oct-Nov, 1972), 477-480.
- Melchior de Sainte-Marie, Fr., O.C.D. "Pour une biographie du P. Philippe de la Trinité (1603-1671)--Documents inédits." Éphémérides Carmeliticae, II, 2 (June, 1948), 343-403.
- Missak, H. "Le Père Ottoman." Revue d'histoire diplomatique, XVII (1903), 350-378.
- Msérianitz, L. "Henri Brenner (Henricus Brennerus) et ses études arméniennes." Le monde oriental, XXIV (1930), 67-73.
- Moreau, Gaston. Le Gouz de la Boullaie, gentilhomme Angevin, ambassadeur de Louis XIV: Sa vie, son oeuvre, et sa famille. Baugé: E. Cingla, 1956.
- Navarra, Fernand. The Forbidden Mountain. Michael Legat, trans. London: 1956.
- Nersisyan, M. Iz Istorii Russko-Armyanskikh Otnošenii [From the History of Russo-Armenian Relations]. II. Erevan: 1961.
- Newton, Arthur Percival, ed. Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930.
- Oaten, Edward Farley, European Travellers in India during the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries; The Evidence Afforded by Them

with Respect to Indian Social Institutions, and The Nature and Influence of Indian Governments. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1909.

Örmanean, M. Azgapatum. 2 vols. Constantinople: 1912-1914.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Church of Armenia: Her History, Doctrine, Rule, Discipline, Liturgy, Literature, and Existing Condition. G. Marcar Gregory, trans. Terenig Poladian, ed. London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1955.

P'ap'azyan, Hakob. "Hayeri Deré T'urk'iaiyi Metak'sak'orcüt'yan meY ev 1729t'. T'avrizum Knk'vac Hamac'aynagirč." ["The Role of the Armenians in Turkey's Silk Trade and the Agreement concluded in Tabriz in 1729."] Banber Matenadarani, IX (1969), 241-253.

Parks, George Bruner. Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages. James A. Williamson, ed. 2nd edn. New York: Frederick Unger Publishing Co., 1961.

Parr, Charles McKew. Jan van Linschoten: The Dutch Marco Polo. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964.

Pasdermadjian, Histoire de l'Arménie, depuis les origines jusqu'au traité de Tausanne. 2nd edn. Paris: Librairie orientale H. Samuelian, 1964.

Peeters, Paul. "La légende de saint Jacques de Nisibe." Analecta Bollandiana XXXVIII (1920), 285-373.

Penrose, Boies. The Sherleian Odyssey: Being a Record of the Travels and Adventures of three famous brothers during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I. Taunton, England: Barnicotts Ltd., The Wessex Press, 1938.

\_\_\_\_\_. Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620. New York: Atheneum Paperback, 1962.

\_\_\_\_\_. Tudor and Early Stuart Voyaging. Washington: the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1962.

\_\_\_\_\_. Urbane Travelers, 1591-1635. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942.

Petrushevskii, S. P. "Narodnoe Vosstanie v Gilyane v 1629 godu." ["A Popular Revolt in Gilan in 1629."] Učenyje Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya, III (1951), 225-256.

Pietrovsky, Boris B. Urartu. James Hogarth, trans. Ancient Civilizations Series. London: Barrie & Rockliff: The Cresset Press, 1969.

- Rialle, Girard de. "An Attempted French Embassy to Persia under Cardinal Richelieu. (Including a hitherto unpublished 'Instruction' by Louis XIII.)" The Asiatic Quarterly Review, 2nd ser., I, 1-2 (January-April 1891), 163-180.
- Richard, Jean. "European Voyages in the Indian Ocean and Caspian Sea, 12th-15th Centuries." Iran, IV (1968), 45-52.
- Ross, Sir E. Denison, ed. Sir Anthony Sherley and His Persian Adventure, including some Contemporary Narratives relating thereto. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1933.
- Rouillard, Clarence Dana. The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature (1520-1660). Études de Littérature Étrangère et Comparée, XIII. Paris: Boivin & Cie, Editeurs [1938?].
- Ryley, J. Horton. Ralph Fitch: England's Pioneer to India and Burma; His Companions and Contemporaries with his Remarkable Narrative Told in his own words. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899.
- Sanchez Canton, F.J. "Viajeros españoles en Oriente." Revista del Instituto Episcopo de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid (Ma'had al-Dirasat al-Islamiyah fi Madrid-Sharifah), IV, 1-2 (1956), 1-45.
- Sanjian, Avedis K. The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Sarkissian, Karekin. The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church. London: S. P. C. K., 1965.
- Savory, R. M. "The Sherley Myth." Iran, V (1967), 73-81.
- Schwobel, Robert. The Shadow of the Crescent. The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453-1517). Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1967.
- Searight, Sarah. The British in the Middle East. New York: Atheneum, 1970.
- Shirley, Evelyn Philip. The Sherley Brothers, An Historical Memoir of the Lives of Sir Thomas Sherley, Sir Anthony Sherley, and Sir Robert Sherley, Knights. By One Of The Same House. Chiswick: From the Press of Charles Whittingham, 1848.
- Sivkov', K. V. Putešestviya Russkix' Liudei za Granitsu v' XVIII v [Travels of the Russian People Abroad in the 18th Century]. St. Petersburg: 1914?.
- Slivitskii, I. "Šarden i ego putešestvie po Gruzii" ["Chardin and his journey through Georgia"]. Kavkaz, XXXIII-XXXV (1849).
- Smirnov, N. A. Politika Rossii na Kavkaze v XVI-XVII vv [Russian Policy in the Caucasus in the 16th-18th Centuries]. Moscow: 1958.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Rossiya i Turtsiya v XVI-XVII vv [Russia and Turkey in the 16th-17th Centuries]. 2 vols. Moscow: 1946.
- Stevens, Henry. The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1599-1603. London: 1886; repr. Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1967.
- Strachan, Michael. The Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Sykes, Sir Percy. A History of Exploration from the Earliest Time to the Present Day. 3rd edn. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1950.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A History of Persia. 2 vols. 3rd edn. London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1930; repr. Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Quest for Cathay. London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1936.
- Tamarati, Michel. L'église géorgienne des origines jusqu'à nos jours; avec 104 portraits et reproductions de monuments géorgiens, deux cartes géographiques et de nombreux documents inédits. Rome: 1910.
- Taylor, E. G. R. Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583-1650: A Sequel to Tudor Geography, 1485-1583. New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1968.
- Ter-Mkrtyčyan, L. Kh. Armeniya pod Vlast'iu Nadir-shakha [Armenia under the Dominion of Nadir Shah]. Moscow: 1963.
- Thompson, R. Campbell. "Tavernier's Travels in Mesopotamia." The Scottish Geographical Magazine (March, 1910), 141-148.
- Toumanoff, Cyril. Studies in Christian Caucasian History. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1963.
- Tragen, Cecil. Elizabethan Venture. London: H. F. & G. Witherby, Ltd., 1953.
- Uras, Esat. Tarihte Ermeniler ve Ermeni Meselesi [The Armenians in History and the Armenian Question]. Ankara: Yeni Matbaa, 1950.
- Voskanyan, V. K. "Israyel Oru Kołmic' Petros I-in Nerkayac'vac Norahayt K'artezē." ["The Newly Discovered Map given to Peter I by Israel Ory."]. Patma-Banasirakan Handes, 14-15 (3-4, 1961), 297-306.
- Van Rooy, Silvio. "Armenian Merchant Habits as Mirrored in 17-18th Century Amsterdam Documents." Revue des études arméniennes, n.s. III (1966), 347-357.
- Vryonis, Speros, Jr. The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth